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**WALTON  
THE LIVES OF  
HERBERT AND WOTTON**

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# WALTON THE LIVES OF HERBERT AND WOTTON

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## PREFATORY NOTE

THIS edition is based on the 1675 edition of the four lives of Donne, Wotton, Hooker, and Herbert collected together. The spelling and punctuation have been modernised where it seemed desirable that this should be done.

The aim of the Introduction is briefly to present the life and character of Walton, and to show the relation in which his biographical work stands to earlier biography, and the way in which he approached his biographies. Advantage has been taken here, and in the Notes, of the light thrown on the subject by Mr. John Butt's article on "Isaak Walton's Methods in Biography" in *"Essays and Studies*, Vol. XIX. (1934).

The purpose of the Notes is, in the main, to explain the many historical references, and the obsolete words and phrases.

A. S. COLLINS.

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## INTRODUCTION

### Life of Walton

Isaak Walton was born in Stafford in August 1593. He came of a family of Staffordshire yeomen, but his father died when Isaak was a small child, and the boy went to London, probably after a few years' schooling at Stafford. He was apprenticed to Thomas Grinsell, an ironmonger, and in 1618 he became a freeman of the Ironmongers' Company. At some time, however he changed his trade, for by 1624, when he was established in a shop in Fleet Street two doors west of Chancery Lane, he was a linen-draper.

His shop was in the parish of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, of which the Vicar from 1623 to 1631 was Dr. John Donne, the poet, who was also Dean of St. Paul's. Walton tells us that in 1627 he heard Donne preach the funeral sermon for Magdalen Herbert, mother of the poet George Herbert, and this was far from being the only sermon he heard preached by Donne. Further, a close friendship grew up between the shopkeeper and the Dean. When Donne lay dying, Walton was at his side, and he was one of those to whom the Dean shortly before his death gave one of his seals engraven with the figure of Christ, crucified on an anchor. In 1633 Walton wrote an elegy on Donne.

No doubt this friendship with Donne deepened Walton's interest in literature, but already before he met Donne he had been writing verse. He had other eminent acquaintances, too: Sir Henry Wotton, and learned Dr. Hales of Eton, he probably met through Donne, but there

were also Ben Jonson, and the poet, Michael Drayton. So, while he was minding his shop and making friends, we imagine the years slipping by evenly enough for him. In 1626 he married Rachel Floyd, a descendant of Archbishop Cranmer's brother; she died in 1640, having given him seven children, all of whom died in infancy. In 1628 he moved to another shop a few doors away.

Such of Walton's verses as survive are quite unremarkable, and it was not until 1639, when he was forty-six years old, that he really turned to authorship. His friend Wotton dying in that year with his task of writing a life of Donne unfulfilled, Walton undertook the work, and, that biography finished and published in 1640, he went on at once to write the life of Wotton as well, completing that work by about 1642. Then in 1644 he retired from business with still another forty years, all but one, to live. It was the year of the battle of Marston Moor, in which the victory of Cromwell's "Iron-sides" dealt the Royalists a crushing blow, and the way of a shopkeeper of royalist sympathies can hardly have been an easy one. But by then Walton had got himself a modest competence, and, as Antony à Wood puts it, "finding it dangerous for honest men to be there," he left London.

Walton's loyalty to the King and his cause was deep and steady, and in his writings he gives it expression, whenever occasion arises, with quiet but strong conviction. As an old man in his eighties writing the life of Bishop Sanderson, he still remembered as keenly as ever the behaviour of Parliament and its supporters, when "all corners of the nation were filled with Covenanters, confusion, Committee-men, and soldiers, defacing monuments, breaking painted glass windows, and serving each other to their several ends, of revenge, or power, or profit." He did not

forget how many ~~citizens~~, whose "malice and madness is scarce credible," shut up their shops in protest at the delay in the execution of Archbishop Laud. He praised God "that He prevented me from being of that party which helped to bring in" the Covenant of 1643, "and these sad confusions that have followed it." His life of Wotton shows us how as a faithful churchman he abhorred the "weeds of controversy... destructive to humble piety," and the men who "have consciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sin to think." His was none of those "sour dispositions" that might think the fact that Wotton wrote a play "not worth a memorial." He was indeed heart and soul with the King's party, and, though by nature far from being a man of war, he no doubt showed without fear where his heart lay. That the royalists knew his loyalty and trusted it is shown by his being given charge of the "lesser George" jewel of Charles II.'s Garter insignia after the disaster of Worcester in 1651, to take it to London to the care of Colonel Blagoe, a mission of some danger.

When he left London, Walton probably returned to Staffordshire; but by 1650 at least he was back in London, and living in Clerkenwell, where he spent most of his time until the Restoration. In 1646 he had married as his second wife Anne Ken, whose young half-brother was to be the famous Bishop Ken. By this marriage he had children who lived to grow up, Anne born in 1648, and Isaac, born in 1651, who lies buried in Salisbury Cathedral, of which he was a Canon. Now the labour of authorship took its toll of the hours which Walton devoted to the patient pleasure of angling, and the happy communion of friendship. In 1651 the life of Wotton, written some years

before, was published. The *Compleat Angler* followed in 1653, to appear in 1655 in a second edition considerably enlarged. In 1658 his *Life of Donne*, having been revised, was re-issued separately from the sermons to which in 1640 it had served as preface.

The Restoration of Charles II. in 1660 was naturally for Walton a happy event. For many years past he had enjoyed the friendship of a wide circle of clergymen, several of them eminent men, and now the royalist divines returned to their benefices, and many were appointed to bishoprics. In 1662 his wife died and was buried in Worcester Cathedral, Walton himself contributing her epitaph. Then, leaving Clerkenwell, Walton spent his last years visiting various places. His friend George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, gave him residence at Farnham Castle. It is said that he had apartments at his disposal, too, at the Bishop of Salisbury's. Some time he spent in Staffordshire, where he had bought a small property at Shallowford in 1656, and where his angling friend Charles Cotton lived on the bank of the Dove, and in 1674 had built a fishing-house for them.

Again the years slipped quietly by. In 1666 he published his *Life of Hooker*, in 1670 his *Life of Herbert*, and in 1670, too, the four lives were published together. He was eighty-five when, in 1678, his last biography, that of Sanderson, appeared, but still he was no tired old man. Writing to Cotton in 1676 he declared: "though I be more than a hundred miles from you, and in the eighty-third year of my age, yet I will forget both, and next month begin a pilgrimage to beg your pardon." In 1683 he published *Thealma and Clearchus*, a poem by a dead friend, John Chalkhill, whose verses he had quoted in *The Compleat Angler*. Then in December of that year, during a great frost, he died at the house of his son-in-law Dr. Hawkins, a

prebendary of Winchester Cathedral, and in that cathedral he was buried.

Walton's writings declare the man—pious but shrewd, gentle but firm, loyal, equable, humorous, and not unlearned, a lover of good men, and simple pleasures, and the countryside. The number and quality of his friends witness to the charm and worth of his character. After ages crown the testimony. Dr. Johnson said the *Lives* was "one of his most favourite books.", Charles Lamb wrote to Coleridge in 1796: "Among all your quaint reading did you ever light upon *Walton's Complete Angler*? . . . it breathes the very spirit of innocence, purity, and simplicity of heart. There are many choice old verses interspersed in it. It would sweeten a man's temper at any time to read it; it would Christianise every discordant angry passion. Pray make yourself acquainted with it." The man himself still lives in Jacob Huysman's portrait of him now in the National Gallery.

### The Compleat Angler

*The Compleat Angler* from its first appearance at the price of eighteenpence and of a pocketable size was a popular book. In fact, it is one of those books that by some kind providence have all the luck. It is not a great book, but the dust lies less thick upon it than upon greater works. It would be easy for one of our modern wits to make fun of its imperfections, its credulities, its digressions, its naïvety. Perhaps to-day it is one of those books which are praised sentimentally more often than they are read. But it is still easy to fall under its charm. Its charms are not faded; the quaint antiquity that delighted Lamb is just as fresh as ever. It does not need an angler to appreciate it, and it has the prime merit of old books—it

is exceedingly "dippable." "In writing of it," says Walton to the Reader, "I have made myself a recreation of a recreation; and that it might prove so to him, and not read dull and tediously, I have in several places mixed . . . some innocent, harmless mirth, of which, if thou be a severe, sour-complexioned man, then I here disallow thee to be a competent judge."

It is the fifth edition, that of 1676, that is now generally read. The second edition had enlarged the book by over a third, adding the character of Auceps, the falconer, to the previous dialogue of Piscator and Venator, formerly Viator. A few small changes had been made in the third and fourth editions of 1661 and 1668, and then in the fifth there were again "many enlargements, gathered both by my own observation and the communication with friends." In 1676, too, it had a second part written at Walton's request by his friend Cotton, who, keeping to the dialogue form, let Piscator Junior and Viator discourse of fly-fishing and trout-fishing.

Walton himself was a devoted angler, and his book he declares "a picture of my own disposition, especially in such days and times as I have laid aside business, and gone a-fishing with honest Nat. and R. Roe." So, much of what he says comes from experience, but much, too, comes from his reading. He may have known a *Treatise of Fishing with an Angle* printed by Wynkyn de Worde in 1496, and Mascall's *Book of Fishing with Hook and Line* (1600), and he certainly knew *The Secrets of Angling* (1613), a poem by J. D., and Barker's *Art of Angling* (1651). The result is a great deal of technical information about bait and other angling topics—whether accurate or useful information does not matter nowadays, though a Puritan angler writing his *Northern Memoirs* in 1658 had some unkind words to

say in his own time—enlivened by anecdotes, and set in a very English setting of streams and flowery meadows, where milkmaids sing old-time songs, and the inn offers refreshment.

"My honest scholar," says Piscator to Venator, "it is now past five of the clock: we will fish till nine, and then go to breakfast. Go you to yonder sycamore tree, and hide your bottle of drink under the hollow root of it, for about that time, and in that place, we will make a brave breakfast with a piece of powdered beef, and a radish or two that I have in my fish-bag: we shall, I warrant you, make a good, honest, wholesome, hungry breakfast. And I will then give you direction for the making and using of your flies." Such is the tone of *The Compleat Angler*.

#### Biography up to Walton

English biography took long to develop, and yet longer to attain excellence, and even to-day one hardly needs the fingers of one hand to tick off our really great English biographies. Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (1791) is perfection, Lockhart's *Life of Scott* (1836-8) is substantially good, and Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* (1777-81) is full of short masterpieces. Lytton Strachey's *Eminent Victorians* (1918) and *Queen Victoria* (1921) are brilliant work in a way which has vitally influenced recent biography.

But this said, we are left with nothing that is undeniably first-class. Macaulay wrote brilliant biographical essays that are still extraordinarily readable, Southey's lives of Nelson and Wesley are at the top of the second class, Trevelyan's *Macaulay* is not very far below Lockhart's *Scott*, and there are several biographies that will long continue to deserve their places in any good library, for example, Mrs. Gaskell's *Life of Charlotte Brontë*, and

Forster's *Goldsmith* (1854). In addition, there has been, of course, a great deal of biographical work produced in the last hundred years, but the Victorian love of whitewashing the great, and the modern trick of satirically writing them down, together with the fashion of mummifying the dead in two heavy volumes of unsifted detail, have done no good to English biography. Certainly it has not been lack of effort that has deprived us of more great biographies than we have.

Nevertheless, for the rise of biography in England we can look back as far as to about the year 700. But the earliest biographies were written in Latin, and they were the lives of saints. About 690 Adamnan wrote a *Life of St. Columba*, and not long after Maccu Mactheni wrote a *Life of St. Patrick*. These works, however, belong to Iona and Ireland, and the first biography written in England by an Englishman was the *Life of Wilfrid* by Eddius Stephanus about 709. Then for centuries there was never a dearth of the lives of saints. But these lives belong not to biography proper but to hagiology. The actual biographical element is small, the man is subordinated to the church, and the human is lost in the miraculous. The writers are mainly concerned with the miracles which the saints worked, and they lavish their eloquence upon them, so that men may wonder and rejoice, and seek to emulate the saints. As time passed, men wrote in English as well as in Latin, so that the unlearned might have their share of edification, but the spirit was the same. Thus Abbot Aelfric, about 996, wrote, in a very alliterative English prose, *Lives of the Saints* intended as homilies for the various saints'-days of the Church.

Early biography appears, too, as a stratum of historical writing. Bede wrote a *Life of St. Cuthbert* and *Lives of the*

*Abbots of the Monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, but biographical matter inevitably comes into his greatest work, his *Ecclesiastical History* (731), which was later translated into English, perhaps by King Alfred, or under his direction. (Bede, as we might expect from a great scholar, shows some scruples about accepting the miraculous, but that element is still very strong in his work,) as also is the desire to provide moral instruction and example. Next comes a mingling of biography with contemporary history in (Bishop Asser's Latin *Life of Alfred the Great* (893), the first biography of an English layman.) Asser was a friend of Alfred, and we get a glimpse of the man as apart from the king, but still the kingdom is more than the man, just as the Church was more than the saints. As for the artistic sense without which biography is hardly born, Asser "is perhaps the most hopeless rambler of the period."

After the Conquest biography fared little better. There were still lives of saints in English prose and verse; there were still Latinists like William of Malmesbury and Geoffrey of Monmouth, hovering between fact and fiction, and blending biography and history, but advancing somewhat in art and truth. The nearest approach to pure biography is Eadmer's *Vita Anselmi* (1140): Eadmer, says R. W. Church, "was alive to points of character, (and) saw something else worth recording in his great archbishop besides the public passages of his life and his supposed miracles."

It is in the sixteenth century that English biography really begins. With the Renaissance came an increased interest in man as man; the miraculous slowly faded out in the light of common day; for good and ill the saints slipped out of men's minds; and the age of manuscript had given way to the age of print. In writing his *History*

of *Richard III* (1513) Sir Thomas More produced not only our first modern history, but also our first notable piece of biographical work (it is hardly a biography) in English; it blackens the King, but the book is centred on him; it is history used as a sermon, but it is not a legend of a saint. Moreover, More's history is good prose which tells its story dramatically, and More as biographer and prose-writer was an inspiration to others. Rastell, one of More's circle, wrote a life of More, of which unfortunately only fragments remain. Roper, too, wrote a life of More about 1537; it is biased, for More was his father-in-law; it is inaccurate, and it lacks artistic structure; but it is vivid, particularly in the use of dialogue, an art in which More himself had set the example. Then about 1557 were written two much more notable biographies, Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* and Harpsfield's *Life of More*. Cavendish had the constructive art which Roper wanted, and, though he wrote to justify Wolsey, and to the theme of the "wondrous mutability" of fortune, he subordinated his prejudice and his preaching to his portrait. Harpsfield's *More* has, says Professor R. W. Chambers, "a claim to be the first scholarly biography extant in English"; like Roper and Cavendish, Harpsfield excelled in dialogue, he, too, having come under the influence of More's writings.

This development in biography, however, was not followed up. In 1605 Bacon, surveying what had been achieved in the various branches of learning, wrote in his *Advancement of Learning*: "For *Lives*, I do find strange that these times have so little esteemed the virtues of the times as that the writing of lives be no more frequent." Chroniclers like Holinshed had mingled history and biography; North in 1579 had translated Plutarch's *Lives*. There had been little more. In the seventeenth century

the character-writers, of whom the best was Earle with his *Microcosmographie* (1628), are evidence of a growing interest in types of character. French novelists, much read in England, inserted in their romances portraits of actual people under a disguise. Ben Jonson, in his notebooks, drew brief character-sketches of Shakespeare and Bacon. Bacon followed up More's *Richard III.* with his *Henry VII.*, and Lord Herbert of Cherbury wrote his autobiography. But when Walton turned to biography he had a clear field, and few known forerunners. Roper's *More* appeared first in Paris in 1626, Cavendish's *Wolsey* remained in manuscript till 1641, Harpsfield's *More* was printed in full only in 1932. ✓

Nor had Walton any successors in his century, though Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* is full of portraits in miniature. Sprat's *Cowley* (1668) is lifeless. Most seventeenth century biography is of the dictionary kind: Fuller's *Worthies of England* (1662), and Anthony à Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* (1690-2). †

#### Walton as Biographer

Walton is our first biographer, at any rate in the sense that in writing a series of lives he made biography his hobby. But he apparently became a biographer more or less by chance. Wotton being engaged upon a life of Donne, Walton helped him by collecting material; then Wotton died with the book unwritten, and Walton felt he could not "make a fair retreat." "And really after such a manner," he says, "I became engaged into a necessity of writing the Life of Dr. Donne, contrary to my first intentions; and that begot a like necessity of writing the Life of his and my ever-honoured friend, Sir Henry Wotton."

Similarly, the *Life of Hooker* was pressed upon him. Twenty years had passed since his writing the life of Wotton, when Dr. Gauden published "the Life of Mr. Richard Hooker, so he called it," to quote Walton. It had "so many dangerous mistakes" that Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, twice enjoined Walton to give the world "a fuller and truer account." Walton, with his usual modesty, doubted "any fitness" in him for such a task, though actually he had years before been himself "a diligent inquisitor" into Hooker's life; but he gave way: "thus I became engaged into the third life." His life of Herbert, however, seems to have had no source but his own interest; having already written of Wotton and Donne, who were both friends of Herbert's, he thought that to write of Herbert, too, might "not be unacceptable." But his last life, that of Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, was again due to "persuasions," which, even in his eighties, he could not resist.

The result is a series of *Lives* which all harmonise with one another. Hooker is an eminent theologian, Donne a great preacher, Wotton a diplomatist first and then a headmaster in holy orders, Herbert a saintly parish priest, Sanderson a godly bishop and a famous casuist. But though they were all men of learning and piety, their portraits ought not to be so much alike as they are. Walton has been too much of an artist to be a true biographer. He has imposed a harmony where truth would have revealed some discords. In fact, Walton is himself present too much in these biographies; we read of these men not so much as they were, but as Walton idealised them. His ideal of learning and piety and meekness is the pattern to which he fits them. "Study to be quiet," quoted Walton, concluding *The Compleat Angler*:

and those whose lives he wrote might well have had this motto too, in their later if not in their earlier years.

Walton's method, in fact, is almost the idyllic. These are not lives of saints, but they are not far out of that tradition: Herbert is a "pattern of primitive piety," and "these relations be well-meant sacrifices to the memory of these worthy men." Not that Walton consciously falsifies: his mind works like a memory which, as it sifts, lets the dark slip through, and leaves the light to shine all the brighter. Of Hooker, at least, he knew nothing at first-hand, for he was only seven when Hooker died, and what he learnt from those who had known Hooker was no doubt somewhat roseate already. Herbert he had only seen, and it was as of one who almost deserved to be canonised that Walton heard of him. As for Sanderson, a friendship of forty years could not fail to win its pious tribute from one like "honest Izaak." Walton, too, had been his friend and fellow-angler. Donne, however, stands differently: Donne, too, was his friend, but Walton's idealising of Donne is not merely an unconscious process, for the strange, intense, morbid genius of Donne cannot have been within the full comprehension of Walton, who, moreover, had not known Donne in the days of his passionate and sensual youth.

Walton, therefore, is not a pure biographer. He is interested in his subjects as men, but the vivid characteristics of personality are toned down. Yet he is not uncritical, nor does he gloss anything over. When there was doubt, he gave his subject the benefit of it, and where there was a fault he did not emphasise it; that is all. Herbert and Donne were poets, but he says little of their poetry; he was, however, no critic of literature, and, indeed, literary criticism still awaited Dryden's impetus. His lives also have their inaccuracies and they are not

complete; not that Walton neglected research, but the day of "research" as we now know it had, to his good fortune, not yet dawned.

One of the great merits of Walton's lives is their vivid little pictures. We see the dying Donne standing upon an un, "his lean, pale, and death-like face" looking out from his shroud. Hooker lives for ever as his two pupils found him "with a book in his hand—it was the *Odes* of Horace—he being then like humble and innocent Abel, tending his small allotment of sheep in a common field" because his shrewish wife wanted the shepherd; and then he was called away from them to rock the cradle. Hooker, again, "was of so mild and humble a nature that his poor parish-clerk and he did never talk but with both their hats on, or both off, at the same time." These revealing sketches could hardly be bettered, and they surely cannot have been penned without a quiet smile. In the *Life of Herbert* he quietly remarks that Melvin was sent to the Tower, "where he remained very angry for three years." Humour is one of Walton's most artistic ingredients.<sup>7</sup>

Of digression Walton is a master. The proportion of it in his biographies is notably large considering how short the biographies themselves are. Thus the account of Hooker, with perhaps the justification of the lapse of time, is filled out by a short sketch of Archbishop Whitgift, and of the rise of the Puritans, and the life of Sanderson is filled out by reflections upon the Civil War. But these digressions have their relevance, though it may not always be very direct, and they are worked in skilfully in such a way that they give us a kind of intimacy with the narrator.

(A notable feature of Walton's method is the use of letters, poems, and wills. It is virtually a discovery of

Walton's own, and he should have the praise for it, not Mason whom Boswell generously praises for the use of this method in his *Life of Gray*. And Walton makes good use, too, of imaginary dialogue. He says in the preface to his life of Sanderson: "I have been so bold as to paraphrase and say what I think he—whom I had the happiness to know well—would have said upon the same occasions." But Walton's dialogue, though good, is not so remarkably vivid as that which Harpsfield, to name only the best of the sixteenth-century biographers, had given. At anecdote, however, he is very happy.

To sum up, Walton's *Lives*, based on trustworthy knowledge communicated by many friends, but written with no model to inspire him, though he knew Plutarch's *Lives*, impress us above all by the perfection of their art. To quote Sir Walter Raleigh: "They are obituary poems; each of them has the unity and the melody of a song or sonnet." Their immediate popularity is shown by the fact that the four lives published together in 1670 went into four editions by 1675.

### The Life of Wotton

This, the second of Walton's biographies, was prefixed to *Reliquiae Wottonianae*, a collection of Wotton's writings made by Walton himself. Walton, however, perhaps because of this fact, makes little reference to Wotton's writings.) To-day Palgrave's *Golden Treasury* keeps in common knowledge Wotton's two lyrics, *The Character of a Happy Life*, and the poem *On his Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia*, but Walton does not mention them. Nor does Walton mention the famous letter which Wotton wrote to Milton in 1638 upon *Comus*, praising it for "a dainty piece of entertainment," and declaring himself ravished by

"a certain Doric delicacy" in its lyrics; Milton printed the 'Iciter in 1645, but perhaps Walton thought any reference to the republican Milton better out of his book. The rest of Wotton's work is mostly forgotten. Wotton was but a dilettante man of letters: just as he contemplated a life of Donne, so did he a life of Luther, and a history of England, but nothing came of the projects. His most substantial work is his *Survey of Education* referred to by Walton, and *The State of Christendom*, printed in 1657, which surveyed contemporary politics.

It was in his later years as Provost of Eton that Wotton was Walton's friend. They went angling together near the college at a bend in the Thames known as Black Pots, and so Walton might well know less of Wotton, the man of the world, than he gives us. But nevertheless, though the life is written as a whole to tone with the picture of Wotton in his "retreat from the pleasures of the world," and as the headmaster really interested in his boys, Wotton's earlier life as diplomatist has its proper prominence, Walton happily mastering the difficulty of combining the biographical and the historical with rather fewer digressions than usual. Walton relishes Wotton's definition of an ambassador as "an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his country"; he relates, surely with quiet humour, how Wotton did "very quickly, and as privately, glide through Kent to Dover," as soon as Essex was arrested; he lets the diplomatist appear clearly enough in Wotton's rule that an ambassador "should always . . . speak the truth . . . for . . . you shall never be believed." But over Wotton's worldly ambition and his efforts to satisfy it Walton passes very lightly; and certainly we do not get from Walton the impression that Wotton had at Court many enemies

who doubted his sincerity," as we are told of him about 1612 (D.N.B.).

This life, in fact, is Walton's skilful tribute to the memory of his "ever-honoured friend," whose service as an ambassador was his most substantial claim to respect, but who was interested in science (Walton might have noted, too, his scientific interests at Elton), and in education, in the arts, and in literature, and who appealed to Walton by his piety and tolerance, his wit and hospitality, and their common devotion to angling.

#### The Life of Herbert

Walton was over seventy when he undertook this life of a man, dead nearly forty years before, whom he had only seen, but many of whose friends, and notably Wotton and Donne, had been Walton's friends too. Again Walton draws his subject in the light of his later years. As the young, hot-blooded pagan Donne is lost in the Dean, and the man-of-the-world in Wotton is subordinated to the contemplative Provost, so the young ambitious Herbert, enjoying "his genteel humour for clothes, and Court-like company," is only glanced at. Not that Walton omits; rather he understates, and with our own knowledge of Herbert we can read between the lines a good deal more of the ambitious Public Orator, who was no more diligent in his classical scholarship than in his flattery, and who, while the wind of the Court blew fair upon him, thought more of worldly than of heavenly prospects, or at best sought a middle way.

In fact, Walton's Herbert is so much the saint that the struggle to renounce the world is not given its due prominence. The truth is that Herbert was so set on political advancement that the failure of his hopes was mainly

responsible for the breakdown of his health, when, as Walton tells us, he "was such a lover of solitariness as was judged to impair his health more than his study had done." His saintliness, indeed, was in part a refuge as well as the issue of sincere faith. As a recent writer says of Walton's account of Herbert on the Sunday before his death, "he was truly saintly, but he also cultivated saintliness, and may have comforted himself in his last hours with this pious conventionality." But we could hardly expect Walton to analyse Herbert in the way our modern outlook prompts us to do. Lord Herbert of Cherbury wrote of his brother that at Bemerton "he was little less than sainted." The poet Vaughan acknowledged the influence upon him of "holy Mr. Herbert." Walton helped to immortalise that picture of Herbert, giving, as he admits, "an almost incredible picture" of Herbert's sanctity. But surely in doing so he did not altogether lose his humour: "Jane became so much a Platonic as to fall in love with Mr. Herbert unseen"—we smile at that, and at the story of the marriage. Was Walton himself quite solemn?

(Walton's vivid pictures again stand out. There is, above all, the little water-colour of the fields by his church, where, when the Saints-bell rings, "some of the meaner sort . . . let their plough rest.") (There is Herbert on his death-bed singing one of his poems to his own playing, there is Herbert joining his musical friends "soiled and discomposed" after re-loading the poor man's horse, and there are other sketches. Again the digressions provide some of the best passages, notably the description of Little Gidden, though the long commentary on the Prayer Book is something of an old gentleman's meandering, and Herbert's long letter to his mother is typical of the age rather than of the man. The passage on Donne's friendship

with Magdalen Herbert is very welcome, but not so very relevant.

Herbert's poems are outside the scope of Walton's treatment, but his testimony to the poet's love of music is invaluable to their full appreciation. The implication of Walton's account is that *The Temple* is the product of the last few years of his life, and that, no doubt, is on the whole true, but the poems show a high degree of artistry that can hardly have been won so immediately. Their piety appealed to Walton—the serenity which Herbert wins out of his struggle—and he did not aspire to criticism, but they show a fund of humour in Herbert which surely appeared in the man more than Walton suggests. It is perhaps the chief defect of Walton as biographer that he was not fitted to make the most of what his subjects wrote. Indeed “George Herbert suffers as a poet from having been too easily and too simply beatified” by Walton. But one good use of Herbert's writings, both in verse and prose, that Walton made was occasionally to take a suggestion from them in order to put into Herbert's mouth words he might well have spoken.)

#### Walton's Style

Sir Edmund Gosse says of Walton that he is one of those who “make a flute of our language, and pipe to us in a mode that is ‘free and pleasant and merry’ so artlessly that we are in danger of forgetting that it is the very consummation of art.” Others, however, almost for want of something better to do, have made a quarrel of whether Walton's art is conscious or unconscious. It is of no consequence either way, but his constant revisions, even to the extent of altering words in copies of his works given to friends, point to his being a deliberate artist, as do

his happy rhythms and balancing of phrases. Nor could any man, without taking thought, have digressed so delightfully as Walton does. His very humility, so often expressed, confirms the impression—he “doth protest too much.”

Walton was well read. His Bible he knew thoroughly, and he knew the early Christian Fathers. He quotes Hooker and the poets. But his reading has not impaired his simplicity. His words are natural, and his vocabulary is remarkably modern. His sentence structure, with its colons and semi-colons, is long drawn-out, but without being elaborate, and without loss of clearness. Not infrequently he changes his structure midway, and by being ungrammatical seems all the more natural. His dialogue is always natural. He has none of the Latinism of his contemporaries Browne and Milton, never heaps up his words like Burton, avoids the wit of the character-writers, and approaches no nearer an aphorism than to interject “and it is some relief for a poor body to be but heard with patience.” His tone rises and falls, no doubt consciously, as his theme requires, but he never walks on stilts or dresses himself up. Above all, he has humour, and knows how to use it quietly. Elizabethan prose was in general too “clotted,” Jacobean too learned and conscious. In those days, to use Gosse’s metaphor, only Walton could play on the flute.

## THE LIFE OF MR. GEORGE HERBERT

### THE INTRODUCTION

*Wisdom of Salom iv 10—He pleased God, and was beloved of Him,  
so that whereas he lived among sinners, He translated him.*

In a late retreat from the business of this world, and those many little cares with which I have too often cumbered myself, I fell into a contemplation of some of those historical passages that are recorded in Sacred Story: and more particularly of what had passed betwixt our blessed Saviour and that wonder of Women, and Sinners, and Mourners, Saint Mary Magdalen. I call her Saint, because I did not then, nor do now consider her, as when she was 10 possessed with seven devils; not as when her wanton eyes and dishevelled hair were designed and managed to charm and ensnare amorous beholders. But I did then, and do now consider her, as after she had expressed a visible and sacred sorrow for her sensualties; as after those eyes had wept such a flood of penitential tears as did wash, and that hair had wiped, and she most passionately kissed the feet of hers and our blessed Jesus. And I do now consider that, because she loved much, not only much was forgiven her: but that, beside that blessed 20 blessing of having her sins pardoned, and the joy of knowing her happy condition, she also had from him a testimony, that her alabaster box of precious ointment poured on his head and feet, and that spikenard, and those spices that were by her dedicated to embalm and preserve his sacred body from putrefaction, should so far preserve her own memory, that these demonstrations of her sanctified love, and of her officious and generous gratitude, should be recorded and mentioned wheresoever his Gospel

should be read: intending thereby, that as his, so her name, should also live to succeeding generations, even till time itself shall be no more.

Upon occasion of which fair example, I did lately look back, and not without some content (at least to myself) that I have endeavoured to deserve the love, (and preserve the memory, of my two deceased friends, Dr. Donne, and Sir Henry Wotton, by declaring the several employments and various accidents of their lives.) And though  
10 Mr. George Herbert (whose Life I now intend to write) were to me a stranger as to his person, for I have only seen him, yet since he was, and was worthy to be, their friend, and very many of his have been mine, I judge it may not be unacceptable to those that knew any of them in their lives, or do now know them by mine, or their own writings, to see this conjunction of them after their deaths; without which, many things that concerned them, and some things that concerned the age in which they lived, would be less perfect, and lost to posterity,

20 For these reasons I have undertaken it, and if I have prevented any abler person, I beg pardon of him and my Reader.

#### THE LIFE

George Herbert was born the third day of April, in the year of our Redemption 1593. The place of his birth was near to the Town of Montgomery, and in that Castle that did then bear the name of that Town and County; that Castle was then a place of state and strength, and had been successively happy in the family of the Herbarts, who had long possessed it; and with it, a plentiful estate,  
30 and hearts as liberal to their poor neighbours. A family, that hath been blessed with men of remarkable wisdom, and a willingness to serve their country, and, indeed, to do good to all mankind; for which they are eminent. But

alas! this family did in the late rebellion suffer extremely in their estates; and the heirs of that Castle saw it laid level with that earth, that was too good to bury those wretches that were the cause of it.

The father of our George was Richard Herbert, the son of Edward Herbert, Knight, the son of Richard Herbert, Knight, the son of the famous Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, in the County of Monmouth, Banneret, who was the youngest brother of that memorable William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, that lived in the 10 reign of our King Edward the Fourth.

His mother was Magdalen Newport, the youngest daughter of Sir Richard, and sister to Sir Francis Newport of High Arkall, in the County of Salop, Knight, and grandfather of Francis Lord Newport, now Comptroller of his Majesty's Household. A family that for their loyalty have suffered much in their estates, and seen the ruin of that excellent structure, where their ancestors have long lived, and been memorable for their hospitality.

This mother of George Herbert (of whose person, and 20 wisdom, and virtue I intend to give a true account in a seasonable place) was the happy mother of seven sons and three daughters, which she would often say was Job's number, and Job's distribution; and as often bless God, that they were neither defective in their shapes, or in their reason; and very often reprove them that did not praise God for so great a blessing. I shall give the Reader a short account of their names, and not say much of their fortunes.

Edward, the eldest, was first made Knight of the Bath, 30 at that glorious time of our late Prince Henry's being installed Knight of the Garter; and after many years' useful travel, and the attainment of many languages, he was by King James sent Ambassador Resident to the then French King, Lewis the Thirteenth. There he continued about two years; but he could not subject himself to a

compliance with the humours of the Duke de Luisnes, who was then the great and powerful favourite at Court: so that upon a complaint to our King, he was called back into England in some displeasure; but at his return he gave such an honourable account of his employment, and so justified his comportment to the Duke and all the Court that he was suddenly sent back upon the same embassy, from which he returned in the beginning of the reign of our good King Charles the First, who made to him first Baron of Castle-Island, and not long after of Cherbury, in the County of Salop. He was a man of great learning and reason, as appears by his printed book *De Veritate*, and by his *History of the reign of King Henry the Eighth*, and by several other tracts.

The second and third brothers were Richard and William, who ventured their lives to purchase honour in the wars of the Low Countries, and died officers in that employment. Charles was the fourth, and died Fellow of New College in Oxford. Henry was the sixth, who became to a menial servant to the Crown in the days of King James, and hath continued to be so for fifty years; during all which time he hath been Master of the Revels; a place that requires a diligent wisdom, with which God hath blessed him. The seventh son was Thomas, who, being made captain of a ship in that fleet with which Sir Robert Mansell was sent against Algiers, did there show a fortunate and true English valour. Of the three sisters I need not say more than that they were all married to persons of worth, and plentiful fortunes, and lived to be examples 30 of virtue, and to do good in their generations.

I now come to give my intended account of George, who was the fifth of those seven brothers.

George Herbert spent much of his childhood in a sweet content under the eye and care of his prudent mother, and the tuition of a chaplain, or tutor to him and two of his brothers, in her own family (for she was then a widow)

where he continued till about the age of twelve years; and being at that time well instructed in the rules of Grammar, he was not long after commended to the care of Dr. Neale, who was then Dean of Westminster; and by him to the care of Mr. Ireland, who was then chief master of that school; where the beauties of his pretty behaviour and wit shined, and became so eminent and lovely in this his innocent age that he seemed to be marked out for piety, and to become the care of Heaven, and of a particular good angel to guard and guide him. And thus he continued 10 in that school, till he came to be perfect in the learned languages, and especially in the Greek tongue, in which he after proved an excellent critic.

About the age of fifteen he, being then a King's Scholar, was elected out of that school for Trinity College in Cambridge, to which place he was transplanted about the year 1608; and his prudent mother, well knowing that he might easily lose or lessen that virtue and innocence which her advice and example had planted in his mind, did therefore procure the generous and liberal Dr. Nevil, 20 who was then Dean of Canterbury, and Master of that College, to take him into his particular care, and provide him a tutor; which he did most gladly undertake, for he knew the excellencies of his mother, and how to value such a friendship.

This was the method of his education, till he was settled in Cambridge, where we will leave him in his study, till I have paid my promised account of his excellent mother, and I will endeavour to make it short.

I have told her birth, her marriage, and the number of 30 her children, and have given some short account of them. I shall next tell the Reader that her husband died when our George was about the age of four years: I am next to tell that she continued twelve years a widow; that she then married happily to a noble gentleman, the brother and heir of the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who did

highly value both her person and the most excellent endowments of her mind.

In this time of her widowhood, she being desirous to give Edward, her eldest son, such advantages of learning, and other education, as might suit his birth and fortune, and thereby make him the more fit for the service of his country, did, at his being of a fit age, remove from Montgomery Castle with him, and some of her younger sons, to Oxford; and having entered Edward into Queen's College, and provided him a fit tutor, she commended him to his care, yet she continued there with him, and still kept him in a moderate awe of herself, and so much under her own eye, as to see and converse with him daily: but she managed this power over him without any such rigid sourness as might make her company a torment to her child; but with such a sweetness and compliance with the recreations and pleasures of youth as did incline him willingly to spend much of his time in the company of his dear and careful mother: which was to her great content: for she would often say, "That as our bodies take a nourishment suitable to the meat on which we feed, so our souls do as insensibly take in vice by the example or conversation with wicked company": and would therefore as often say, ("That ignorance of vice was the best preservation of virtue;) and that the very knowledge of wickedness was as tinder to inflame and kindle sin, and to keep it burning."

For these reasons she endeared him to her own company, and continued with him in Oxford four years; in which time her great and harmless wit, her cheerful gravity, and her obliging behaviour, gained her an acquaintance and friendship with most of any eminent worth or learning, that were at that time in or near that University, and particularly with Mr. John Donne, who then came accidentally to that place, in this time of her being there. It was that John Donne who was after Dr. Donne, and

Dean of St. Paul's, London: and he, at his leaving Oxford, writ and left there in verse a character of the beauties of her body and mind; of the first he says,

No Spring nor Summer beauty has such grace  
As I have seen in an Autumnal face

Of the latter he says,

In all her words, to every hearer fit,  
You may at revels, or at council sit

The rest of her character may be read in his printed poems, in that Elegy which bears the name of *The Autumnal to Beauty*. For both he and she were then past the meridian of man's life.

This amity, begun at this time and place, was not an amity that polluted their souls; but an amity made up of a chain of suitable inclinations and virtues; an amity like that of St. Chrysostom's to his dear and virtuous Olympias, whom, in his letters, he calls his Saint: or an amity, indeed, more like that of St. Hicrome to his Paula; whose affection to her was such that he turned poet in his old age, and then made her epitaph: wishing all his body were turned into tongues, that he might declare her just praises to posterity. And this amity betwixt her and Mr. Donne was begun in a happy time for him, he being then near to the fortieth year of his age, which was some years before he entered into Sacred Orders; a time when his necessities needed a daily supply for the support of his wife, seven children, and a family. And in this time she proved one of his most bountiful benefactors, and he as grateful an acknowledger of it. You may take one testimony for what I have said of these two worthy persons, from this following 30 letter and sonnet.

" MADAM,

" Your favours to me are everywhere; I use them, and have them. I enjoy them at London, and leave them there; and yet find them at Mitcham. Such riddles as these

become things unexpressible; and such is your goodness. I was almost sorry to find your servant here this day, because I was loath to have any witness of my not coming home last night, and indeed of my coming this morning. But my not coming was excusable, because earnest business detained me; and my coming this day is by the example of your St. Mary Magdalen, who rose early upon Sunday to seek that which she loved most; and so did I. And, from her and myself, I return such thanks as are due to one, to whom we owe all the good opinion that they whom we need most have of us. By this messenger, and on this good day, I commit the enclosed Holy Hymns and Sonnets (which for the matter, not the workmanship, have yet escaped the fire) to your judgment, and to your protection too, if you think them worthy of it; and I have appointed this enclosed Sonnet to usher them to your happy hand.

Your unworthiest servant,  
Unless your accepting him to be so  
have mended him,

20

JO. DONNE.

Mitcham, July 11, 1607."

**TO THE LADY MAGDALEN HERBERT, OF ST. MARY MAGDALEN.**

Her of your name, whose fair inheritance  
Bethina was, and jointure Magdalo,  
An active faith so highly did advance,  
That she once knew more than the Church did know,  
The Resurrection; so much good there is  
Delivered of her, that some Fathers be  
Loth to believe one woman could do this:  
But think these Magdalens were two or three.  
Increase their number, Lady, and their fame:  
To their devotion add your innocence;  
Take so much of th' example, as of the name;  
The latter half; and in some recompence  
That they did harbour Christ himself, a guest,  
Harbour these Hymns, to his dear name addrest.

30

J. D.

These Hymns are now lost to us; but doubtless they were such as they two now sing in Heaven.

There might be more demonstrations of the friendship, and the many sacred endearments betwixt these two excellent persons (for I have many of their letters in my hand), and much more might be said of her great prudence and piety: but my design was not to write hers, but the life of her son, and therefore I shall only tell my Reader that about that very day twenty years that this letter was dated, and sent her, I saw and heard this Mr. John Donne (who was then Dean of St. Paul's) weep, and preach her Funeral Sermon, in the Parish Church of Chelsea, near London, where she now rests in her quiet grave: and where we must now leave her, and return to her son George, whom we left in his study in Cambridge.

And in Cambridge we may find our George Herbert's behaviour to be such that we may conclude he consecrated the first-fruits of his early age to virtue, and a serious study of learning. And that he did so, this following letter and sonnet, which were, in the first year of his going to Cambridge, sent his dear mother for a New-year's gift, may appear to be some testimony.

—“But I fear the heat of my late ague hath dried up those springs, by which scholars say the Muses use to take up their habitations. However, I need not their help to reprove the vanity of those many love-poems that are daily writ, and consecrated to Venus; nor to bewail that so few are writ that look towards God and Heaven. For my own part, my meaning (dear Mother) is, in these Sonnets, to declare my resolution to be, that my poor abilities in poetry shall be all and ever consecrated to God's glory, and I beg you to receive this as one testimony.”

My God, where is that ancient heat towards Thee,  
Wherewith whole shoals of Martyrs once did burn,  
Besides their other flames? (Doth Poetry)

Wear Venus' livery? only serve her turn?  
 Why are not Sonnets made of Thee, and lays  
 Upon Thine altar burnt? Cannot Thy love  
 Heighten a spirit to sound out Thy praise  
 As well as any she? Cannot Thy dove  
 Outstrip their Cupid easily in flight?  
 Or, since Thy ways are deep, and still the same,  
 Will not a verse run smooth that bears Thy name?  
 Why doth that fire, which by Thy power and might  
 Each breast does feel, no braver fuel choose  
 Than that, which one day worms may chance refuse?

10

Sure, Lord, there is enough in Thee to dry  
 Oceans of ink; for as the Deluge did  
 Cover the Earth, so doth Thy majesty;  
 Each cloud distils Thy praise, and doth forbid  
 Poets to turn it to another use.  
 'Roses and lilies speak Thee; and to make  
 A pair of cheeks of them is Thy abuse.'  
 Why should I women's eyes for crystal take?  
 Such poor invention burns in their low mind  
 Whose fire is wild, and doth not upward go  
 To praise, and on Thee, Lord, some ink bestow.  
 Open the bones, and you shall nothing find  
 In the best face but filth; when, Lord, in Thee  
 The beauty lies in the discovery.

G. H.

This was his resolution at the sending this letter to his dear mother, about which time he was in the seventeenth year of his age: and as he grew older, so he grew in learning, and more and more in favour both with God and man:  
 30 insomuch that, in this morning of that short day of his life, he seemed to be marked out for virtue, and to become the care of Heaven; for God still kept his soul in so holy a frame that he may, and ought to be a pattern of virtue to all posterity, and especially to his brethren of the Clergy, of which the Reader may expect a more exact account in what will follow.

I need not declare that he was a strict student, because, that he was so, there will be many testimonies in the future part of his life. I shall therefore only tell that he  
 40 was made Bachelor of Arts in the year 1611; Major Fellow of the College, March 15th, 1615: and that in that year he

was also made Master of Arts, he being then in the 22nd year of his age; during all which time, all, or the greatest diversion from his study, was the practice of music, in which he became a great master; and of which he would say, "That it did relieve his drooping spirits, compose his distracted thoughts, and raised his weary soul so far above earth that it gave him an earnest of the joys of Heaven, before he possessed them." And it may be noted that, from his first entrance into the College, the generous Dr. Nevil was a cherisher of his studies, and such a lover <sup>to</sup> of his person, his behaviour, and the excellent endowments of his mind, that he took him often into his own company; by which he confirmed his native gentleness: and if during his time he expressed any error, it was that he kept himself too much retired, and at too great a distance with all his inferiors; and his clothes seemed to prove that he put too great a value on his parts and parentage.

This may be some account of his disposition, and of the employment of his time till he was Master of Arts, which was Anno 1615, and in the year 1619 he was chosen <sup>20</sup> Orator for the University. His two precedent Orators were Sir Robert Naunton, and Sir Francis Nethersole. The first was not long after made Secretary of State, and Sir Francis, not very long after his being Orator, was made Secretary to the Lady Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. In this place of Orator our George Herbert continued eight years, and managed it with as becoming and grave a gaiety as any had ever before or since his time. For "he had acquired great learning, and was blessed with a high fancy, a civil and sharp wit, and with a natural elegance, <sup>30</sup> both in his behaviour, his tongue, and his pen." Of all which there might be very many particular evidences, but I will limit myself to the mention of but three.

And the first notable occasion of showing his fitness for this employment of Orator was manifested in a letter to King James, upon the occasion of his sending that

University his book called *Basilicon Doron*; and their Orator was to acknowledge this great honour, and return their gratitude to his Majesty for such a condescension; at the close of which letter he writ,

Quid Vaticanam Bodleianamque objicis, hospes !  
Unicus est nobis Bibliotheca Liber.

This letter was writ in such excellent Latin, was so full of conceits, and all the expressions so suited to the genius of the King, that he enquired the Orator's name, and then 10 asked William Earl of Pembroke, if he knew him; whose answer was, "That he knew him very well, and that he was his kinsman; but he loved him more for his learning and virtue than for that he was of his name and family." At which answer the King smiled, and asked the Earl leave that he might love him too, for he took him to be the jewel of that University.

The next occasion he had and took to show his great abilities was with them to show also his great affection to that Church in which he received his baptism, and of 20 which he professed himself a member; and the occasion was this: There was one Andrew Melvin, a Minister of the Scotch Church, and Rector of St. Andrews; who, by a long and constant converse with a discontented part of that Clergy which opposed Episcopacy, became at last to be a chief leader of that faction; and had proudly appeared to be so to King James, when he was but King of that nation; who, the second year after his coronation in England, convened a part of the Bishops, and other learned Divines of his Church, to attend him at Hampton-Court, in order 30 to a friendly conference with some dissenting brethren, both of this and the Church of Scotland: of which Scotch party Andrew Melvin was one; and he, being a man of learning, and inclined to satirical poetry, had scattered many malicious, bitter verses against our liturgy, our ceremonies, and our church-government; which were by some of that party so magnified for the wit that they were

therefore brought into Westminster School, where Mr. George Herbert, then, and often after, made such answers to them, and such reflections on him and his Kirk, as might unbeguile any man that was not too deeply pre-engaged in such a quarrel.

But to return to Mr. Melvin at Hampton-Court Conference: he there appeared to be a man of an unruly wit, of a strange confidence, of so furious a zeal, and of so ungoverned passions, that his insolence to the King, and others at this Conference, lost him both his Rectorship of St. Andrews, and his liberty too; for his former verses, and his present reproaches there used against the Church and State, caused him to be committed prisoner to the Tower of London, where he remained very angry for three years. At which time of his commitment, he found the Lady Arabella an innocent prisoner there; and he pleased himself much in sending, the next day after his commitment, these two verses to the good lady; which I will underwrite, because they may give the Reader a taste of his others, which were like these.

20

*Causa tibi mecum est communis, carceris, Arabella; tibi causa est, Araque sacra mihi.*

I shall not trouble my Reader with an account of his enlargement from that prison, or his death; but tell him Mr. Herbert's verses were thought so worthy to be preserved that Dr. Duport, the learned Dean of Peterborough, hath lately collected, and caused many of them to be printed, as an honourable memorial of his friend Mr. George Herbert, and the cause he undertook.

And in order to my third and last observation of his great abilities, it will be needful to declare that about this time King James came very often to hunt at Newmarket and Royston, and was almost as often invited to Cambridge, where his entertainment was comedies suited to his pleasant humour; and where Mr. George Herbert was to welcome him with gratulations, and the applauses of

an Orator; which he always performed so well that he still grew more into the King's favour, insomuch that he had a particular appointment to attend his Majesty at Royston; where, after a discourse with him, his Majesty declared to his kinsman, the Earl of Pembroke, that he found the Orator's learning and wisdom much above his age or wit.

The year following, the King appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at 10 which time he was attended by the great Secretary of Nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam, and by the ever-memorable and learned Dr. Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our Orator. Upon whom the first put such a value on his judgment, that he usually desired his approbation before he would expose any of his books to be printed, and thought him so worthy of his friendship that, having translated many of the Prophet David's Psalms into English verse, he made George Herbert 20 his patron, by a public dedication of them to him, as the best judge of Divine Poetry. And for the learned Bishop, it is observable that at that time there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about Predestination, and Sanctity of life; of both of which the Orator did, not long after, send the Bishop some safe and useful aphorisms, in a long letter written in Greek; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it that, after the reading of it, the Bishop put it into his bosom, and did often show it to many scholars, both of this and foreign nations; but did 30 always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life.

To this I might add the long and entire friendship betwixt him and Sir Henry Wotton, and Dr. Donne, but I have promised to contract myself, and shall therefore only add one testimony to what is also mentioned in the *Life of Dr. Donne*; namely, that a little before his death

he caused many seals to be made, and in them to be engraven the figure of Christ, crucified on an Anchor (the emblem of Hope), and of which Dr. Donne would often say, "*Crux mihi anchora.*"—These seals he gave or sent to most of those friends on which he put a value; and, at Mr. Herbert's death, these verses were found wrapt up with that seal which was by the Doctor given to him;

*When my dear friend could write no more,  
He gave this Seal and so gave o'er.*

*When winds and waves rise highest, I am sure,  
This Anchor keeps my faith, that me secure.*

10

At this time of being Orator, he had learned to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues very perfectly; hoping that, as his predecessors, so he might in time attain the place of a Secretary of State, he being at that time very high in the King's favour, and not meanly valued and loved by the most eminent and most powerful of the Court nobility. This, and the love of a Court-conversation, mixed with a laudable ambition to be something more than he then was, drew him often from Cambridge to attend the King wheresoever the Court was, who then gave him a sinecure, which fell into his Majesty's disposal, I think, by the death of the Bishop of St. Asaph. It was the same that Queen Elizabeth had formerly given to her favourite Sir Philip Sidney, and valued to be worth an hundred and twenty pounds per annum. With this, and his annuity, and the advantage of his College, and of his Oratorship, he enjoyed his genteel humour for clothes, and Court-like company, and seldom looked towards Cambridge, unless the King were there, but then he never failed; and, at other times, left the manage of his Orator's place to his learned friend, Mr. Herbert Thorndike, who is now Prebend of Westminster.

I may not omit to tell that he had often designed to leave the University, and decline all study, which he

thought did impair his health; for he had a body apt to a consumption, and to fevers, and other infirmities, which he judged were increased by his studies; for he would often say, "He had too thoughtful a wit; a wit like a penknife in too narrow a sheath, too sharp for his body." But his mother would by no means allow him to leave the University, or to travel, and though he inclined very much to both, yet he would by no means satisfy his own desires at so dear a rate as to prove an undutiful son to so affectionate a mother; but did always submit to her wisdom. And what I have now said may partly appear in a copy of verses in his printed poems; 'tis one of those that bears the title of Affliction; and it appears to be a pious reflection on God's providence, and some passages of his life, in which he says,

20

Whereas my birth and spirit rather took  
 The way that takes the town:  
 Thou didst betray me to a lingering book,  
 And wrap me in a gown:  
 I was entangled in a world of strife,  
 Before I had the power to change my life.

Yet, for I threaten'd oft the siege to raise,  
 Not simpering all mine age;  
 Thou often didst with academic praise  
 Melt and dissolve my rage  
 I took the sweeten'd pill, till I came where  
 I could not go away, nor persevere.

30

Yet, lest perchance I should too happy be  
 In my unhappiness,  
 Turning my purge to food, thou throwest me  
 Into more sicknesses.  
 Thus doth thy power cross-bias me, not making  
 Thine own gifts good, yet me from my ways taking

Now I am here, what thou wilt do with me  
 None of my books will show.  
 I read, and sigh, and wish I were a tree,  
 For then sure I should grow  
 To fruit or shade, at least some bird would trust  
 Her household with me, and I would be just.

Yet, though thou troublest me, I must be meek,  
 In weakness must be stout:  
 Well, I will change my service, and go seek  
 Some other master out.  
 Ah, my dear God ! though I am clean forgot,  
 Let me not love thee, if I love thee not.

G. H.

In this time of Mr. Herbert's attendance and expectation of some good occasion to remove from Cambridge to Court, God, in whom there is an unseen chain of causes, 10 did in a short time put an end to the lives of two of his most obliging and most powerful friends, Lodowick Duke of Richmond, and James Marquis of Hamilton; and not long after him, King James died also, and, with them, all Mr. Herbert's Court-hopes: so that he presently betook himself to a retreat from London, to a friend in Kent, where he lived very privately, and was such a lover of solitariness, as was judged to impair his health more than his study had done. In this time of retirement, he had many conflicts with himself, whether he should return to 20 the painted pleasures of a Court-life, or betake himself to a study of Divinity, and enter into Sacred Orders (to which his dear mother had often persuaded him). These were such conflicts as they only can know that have endured them; for ambitious desires, and the outward glory of this world, are not easily laid aside; but, at last, God inclined him to put on a resolution to serve at His altar.

He did, at his return to London, acquaint a Court-friend with his resolution to enter into Sacred Orders, who persuaded him to alter it, as too mean an employment, and 30 too much below his birth, and the excellent abilities and endowments of his mind. To whom he replied, " It hath been formerly judged that the domestic servants of the King of Heaven should be of the noblest families on earth; and though the iniquity of the late times have made clergymen meanly valued, and the sacred name of priest contemptible, yet I will labour to make it honourable, by

consecrating all my learning, and al<sup>e</sup> my poor abilities to advance the glory of that God that gave them; knowing that I can never do too much for him that hath done so much for me as to make me a Christian. And I will labour to be like my Saviour, by making humility lovely in the eyes of all men, and by following the merciful and meek example of my dear Jesus."

This was then his resolution, and the God of constancy, who intended him for a great example of virtue, continued to him in it, for within that year he was made Deacon, but the day when, or by whom, I cannot learn; but that he was about that time made Deacon is most certain; for I find by the Records of Lincoln that he was made Prebend of Layton Ecclesia, in the Diocese of Lincoln, July 15th, 1626, and that this Prebend was given him by John, then Lord Bishop of that See. And now he had a fit occasion to show that piety and bounty that was derived from his generous mother, and his other memorable ancestors, and the occasion was this.

20 This Layton Ecclesia is a village near to Spalden, in the County of Huntingdon, and the greatest part of the parish church was fallen down, and that of it which stood was so decayed, so little, and so useless, that the parishioners could not meet to perform their duty to God in public prayer and praises; and thus it had been for almost twenty years, in which time there had been some faint endeavours for a public collection to enable the parishioners to rebuild it, but with no success, till Mr. Herbert undertook it; and he, by his own, and the contribution of many of his kindred, 30 and other noble friends, undertook the re-edification of it; and made it so much his whole business that he became restless till he saw it finished as it now stands; being for the workmanship, a costly mosaic; for the form, an exact cross; and for the decency and beauty, I am assured it is the most remarkable parish church that this nation affords. He lived to see it so wainscotted as to be exceeded by none;

and, by his order, the reading pew and pulpit were a little distant from each other, and both of an equal height; for he would often say, "They should neither have a precedence or priority of the other, but that prayer and preaching, being equally useful, might agree like brethren, and have an equal honour and estimation."

Before I proceed farther, I must look back to the time of Mr. Herbert's being made prebend, and tell the Reader that, not long after, his mother, being informed of his intentions to rebuild that church, and apprehending the great trouble and charge that he was like to draw upon himself, his relations, and friends, before it could be finished, sent for him from London to Chelsea (where she then dwelt), and at his coming said, "George, I sent for you to persuade you to commit simony, by giving your patron as good a gift as he has given to you, namely, that you give him back his prebend; for, George, it is not for your weak body, and empty purse, to undertake to build churches." Of which he desired he might have a day's time to consider, and then make her an answer. 20

And at his return to her the next day, when he had first desired her blessing, and she given it him, his next request was, "That she would at the age of thirty-three years allow him to become an undutiful son; for he had made a vow to God, that, if he were able, he would rebuild that church." And then showed her such reasons for his resolution that she presently subscribed to be one of his benefactors, and undertook to solicit William Earl of Pembroke to become another, who subscribed for fifty pounds; and not long after, by a witty and persuasive letter from Mr. Herbert, made it fifty pounds more. And in this nomination of some of his benefactors, James Duke of Lenox, and his brother, Sir Henry Herbert, ought to be remembered; as also the bounty of Mr. Nicholas Farrer, and Mr. Arthur Woodnot: the one a gentleman in the neighbourhood of Layton, and the other a goldsmith in

Foster Lane, London, ought not to be forgotten: for the memory of such men ought to outlive their lives. Of Mr. Farrer I shall hereafter give an account in a more seasonable place; but before I proceed farther, I will give this short account of Mr. Arthur Woodnot.

He was a man that had considered overgrown estates do often require more care and watchfulness to preserve than get them, and considered that there be many discontents that riches cure not; and did therefore set limits to himself  
10 as to desire of wealth. And having attained so much as to be able to show some mercy to the poor, and preserve a competence for himself, he dedicated the remaining part of his life to the service of God, and to be useful for his friends; and he proved to be so to Mr. Herbert, for, beside his own bounty, he collected and returned most of the money that was paid for the rebuilding of that Church; he kept all the account of the charges, and would often go down to state them, and see all the workmen paid. When I have said that this good man was a useful friend to Mr.  
20 Herbert's father, and to his mother, and continued to be so to him, till he closed his eyes on his death-bed, I will forbear to say more, till I have the next fair occasion to mention the holy friendship that was betwixt him and Mr. Herbert. From whom Mr. Woodnot carried to his mother this following letter, and delivered it to her in a sickness, which was not long before that which proved to be her last.

*A Letter of Mr. GEORGE HERBERT to his mother,  
in her sickness.*

" MADAM,  
30 " At my last parting from you, I was the better content, because I was in hope I should myself carry all sickness out of your family: but since I know I did not, and that your share continues, or rather increaseth, I wish earnestly that I were again with you; and would quickly make good

my wish, but that my employment does fix me here, it being now but a month to our Commencement: wherein my absence, by how much it naturally augmenteth suspicion, by so much shall it make my prayers the more constant, and the more earnest for you to the God of all consolation.

" In the meantime, I beseech you to be cheerful, and comfort yourself in the God of all comfort, who is not willing to behold any sorrow but for sin.—What hath affliction grievous in it more than for a moment? or why should our afflictions here have so much power or boldness to as to oppose the hope of our joys hereafter?—Madam, as the earth is but a point in respect of the heavens, so are earthly troubles compared to heavenly joys; therefore, if either age or sickness lead you to those joys, consider what advantage you have over youth and health, who are now so near those true comforts. Your last letter gave me earthly preferment, and I hope kept heavenly for yourself: but would you divide and choose too? Our college customs allow not that, and I should account myself most happy, if I might change with you; for I have always observed 20 the thread of life to be like other threads or skeins of silk, full of snarles and encumbrances. Happy is he, whose bottom is wound up, and laid ready for work in the New Jerusalem.

" For myself, dear Mother, I always feared sickness more than death, because sickness hath made me unable to perform those offices for which I came into the world, and must yet be kept in it; but you are freed from that fear, who have already abundantly discharged that part, having both ordered your family and so brought up your children that they have attained to the years of discretion, and 30 competent maintenance. So that now, if they do not well, the fault cannot be charged on you, whose example and care of them will justify you both to the world and your own conscience; insomuch that, whether you turn your thoughts on the life past, or on the joys that are to come, you have strong preservatives against all disquiet.

" And for temporal afflictions, I beseech you consider all that can happen to you are either afflictions of estate, or body, or mind. For those of estate, of what poor regard ought they to be? since, if we had riches, we are commanded to give them away: so that the best use of them is, having, not to have them. But perhaps, being above the common people, our credit and estimation calls on us to live in a more splendid fashion: but, O God! how easily is that answered, when we consider that the blessings in the holy Scripture are never given to the rich, but to the poor. I never find ' Blessed be the rich,' or ' Blessed be the noble'; but, ' Blessed be the meek,' and ' Blessed be the poor,' and ' Blessed be the mourners, for they shall be comforted.'—And yet, O God! most carry themselves so, as if they not only not desired, but even feared to be blessed.—And for afflictions of the body, dear Madam, remember the holy Martyrs of God, how they have been burnt by thousands, and have endured such other tortures as the very mention of them might beget amazement; but their fiery trials have had an end; and yours (which, praised be God, are less) are not like to continue long. I beseech you, let such thoughts as these moderate your present fear and sorrow; and know that, if any of yours should prove a Goliath-like trouble, yet you may say with David, ' That God, who hath delivered me out of the paws of the lion and bear, will also deliver me out of the hands of this uncircumcised Philistine.'

" Lastly, for those afflictions of the soul: consider that God intends that to be as a sacred Temple for himself to dwell in, and will not allow any room there for such an inmate as grief, or allow that any sadness shall be his competitor. And, above all, if any care of future things molest you, remember those admirable words of the Psalmist: ' Cast thy care on the Lord, and he shall nourish thee.'<sup>1</sup> To which join that of St. Peter, ' Casting all your care on

<sup>1</sup> *Psal. Iv. 22.*

the Lord, for he careth for you.<sup>1</sup> What an admirable thing is this, that God puts his shoulder to our burden, and entertains our care for us, that we may the more quietly intend his service.

"To conclude, let me commend only one place more to you: Philipp. iv. 4. St. Paul saith there, 'Rejoice in the Lord always; and again I say, rejoice.' He doubles it to take away the scruple of those that might say, What, shall we rejoice in afflictions? Yes, I say again, rejoice; so that it is not left to us to rejoice, or not rejoice; but to whatsoever befalls us, we must always, at all times, rejoice in the Lord, who taketh care for us. And it follows in the next verse: 'Let your moderation appear to all men: the Lord is at hand: be careful for nothing.' What can be said more comfortably? Trouble not yourselves; God is at hand, to deliver us from all, or in all.—Dear Madam, pardon my boldness, and accept the good meaning of

Your most obedient son,

GEORGE HERBERT.

Trin. Coll. May 25<sup>th</sup>, 1622."

20

About the year 1629, and the thirty-fourth of his age, Mr. Herbert was seized with a sharp quotidian ague, and thought to remove it by the change of air; to which end, he went to Woodford in Essex, but thither more chiefly to enjoy the company of his beloved brother, Sir Henry Herbert, and other friends then of that family. In his house he remained about twelve months, and there became his own physician, and cured himself of his ague, by forbearing drink, and not eating any meat, no not mutton, nor a hen, or pigeon, unless they were salted; and by such a constant diet he removed his ague, but with inconveniences that were worse; for he brought upon himself a disposition to rheums, and other weaknesses, and a supposed

<sup>1</sup> 1 Pet. v. 7.

consumption. And it is to be noted; that in the sharpest of his extreme fits he would often say, "Lord, abate my great affliction, or increase my patience; but Lord, I repine not; I am dumb, Lord, before thee, because thou doest it." By which, and a sanctified submission to the will of God, he shewed he was inclinable to bear the sweet yoke of Christian discipline, both then and in the latter part of his life, of which there will be many true testimonies.

10 And now his care was to recover from his consumption, by a change from Woodford into such an air as was most proper to that end. And his remove was to Dauntsey in Wiltshire, a noble house, which stands in a choice air; the owner of it then was the Lord Danvers, Earl of Danby, who loved Mr. Herbert so very much that he allowed him such an apartment in it as might best suit with his accommodation and liking. And in this place, by a spare diet, declining all perplexing studies, moderate exercise, and a cheerful conversation, his health was apparently  
20 improved to a good degree of strength and cheerfulness. And then he declared his resolution both to marry, and to enter into the Sacred Orders of Priesthood. These had long been the desires of his mother, and his other relations; but she lived not to see either, for she died in the year 1627. And though he was disobedient to her about Layton Church, yet, in conformity to her will, he kept his Orator's place till after her death, and then presently declined it; and the more willingly, that he might be succeeded by his friend Robert Creighton, who now is Dr.  
30 Creighton, and the worthy Bishop of Wells.

I shall now proceed to his marriage; in order to which, it will be convenient that I first give the Reader a short view of his person, and then an account of his wife, and of some circumstances concerning both.—He was for his person of a stature inclining towards tallness; his body was very straight, and so far from being cumbered with too

much flesh, that he was lean to an extremity. His aspect was cheerful, and his speech and motion did both declare him a gentleman; for they were all so meek and obliging, that they purchased love and respect from all that knew him.

These, and his other visible virtues, begot him much love from a gentleman of a noble fortune, and a near kinsman to his friend the Earl of Danby; namely, from Mr. Charles Danvers of Bainton, in the County of Wilts, Esq. This Mr. Danvers, having known him long, and familiarly, did so much affect him, that he often and <sup>10</sup> publicly declared a desire that Mr. Herbert would marry any of his nine daughters (for he had so many), but rather his daughter Jane than any other, because Jane was his beloved daughter. And he had often said the same to Mr. Herbert himself; and that if he could like her for a wife, and she him for a husband, Jane should have a double blessing: and Mr. Danvers had so often said the like to Jane, and so much commended Mr. Herbert to her, that Jane became so much a Platonic as to fall in love with  
Mr. Herbert unseen)

This was a fair preparation for a marriage; but, alas! her father died before Mr. Herbert's retirement to Dauntsey: yet some friends to both parties procured their meeting; at which time a mutual affection entered into both their hearts, as a conqueror enters into a surprised city, and love, having got such possession, governed, and made there such laws and resolutions as neither party was able to resist; insomuch that (she changed her name into Herbert the third day after this first interview.)

This haste might in others be thought a love-frenzy, or <sup>30</sup> worse; but it was not, for they had wooed so like princes, as to have select proxies, such as were true friends to both parties, such as well understood Mr. Herbert's and her temper of mind, and also their estates, so well before this interview, that the suddenness was justifiable by the strictest rules of prudence, and the more, because it proved

so happy to both parties; for the eternal Lover of mankind made them happy in each other's mutual and equal affections, and compliance; indeed, so happy that there never was any opposition betwixt them, unless it were a contest which should most incline to a compliance with the other's desires. And though this begot, and continued in them, such a mutual love, and joy, and content, as was no way defective, yet this mutual content, and love, and joy, did receive a daily augmentation, by such daily obligingness to  
10 each other as still added such new affluences to the former fullness of these divine souls, as was only improvable in Heaven, where they now enjoy it.

About three months after this marriage, Dr. Curle, who was then Rector of Bemerton, in Wiltshire, was made Bishop of Bath and Wells (and not long after translated to Winchester), and by that means the presentation of a Clerk to Bemerton did not fall to the Earl of Pembroke (who was the undoubted Patron of it), but to the King, by reason of Dr. Curle's advancement: but Philip, then  
20 Earl of Pembroke (for William was lately dead), requested the King to bestow it upon his kinsman George Herbert; and the King said, "Most willingly to Mr. Herbert, if it be worth his acceptance"; and the Earl as willingly and suddenly sent it him, without seeking. But though Mr. Herbert had formerly put on a resolution for the Clergy, yet, at receiving this presentation, the apprehension of the last great account, that he was to make for the cure of so many souls, made him fast and pray often, and consider for not less than a month: in which time he  
30 had some resolutions to decline both the Priesthood, and that living. And in this time of considering, "he endured," as he would often say, "such spiritual conflicts, as none can think, but only those that have endured them."

In the midst of these conflicts, his old and dear friend, Mr. Arthur Woodnot, took a journey to salute him at Bainton (where he then was, with his wife's friends and

relations), and was joyful to be an eye-witness of his health, and happy marriage. And after they had rejoiced together some few days, they took journey to Wilton, the famous seat of the Earls of Pembroke; at which time the King, the Earl, and the whole Court were there, or at Salisbury, which is near to it. And at this time Mr Herbert presented his thanks to the Earl, for his presentation to Bemerton, but had not yet resolved to accept it, and told him the reason why; but that night the Earl acquainted Dr. Laud, then Bishop of London, and after Archbishop <sup>10</sup> of Canterbury, with his kinsman's irresolution. And the Bishop did the next day so convince Mr. Herbert that the refusal of it was a sin, that a tailor was sent for to come speedily from Salisbury to Wilton to take measure, and make him canonical clothes against next day; which the tailor did; and Mr. Herbert being so habited, went with his presentation to the learned Dr. Davenant, who was then Bishop of Salisbury, and he gave him institution immediately (for Mr. Herbert had been made Deacon some years before), and he was also the same day (which <sup>20</sup> was April 26th, 1630) inducted into the good, and more pleasant than healthful, parsonage of Bemerton, which is a mile from Salisbury.

I have now brought him to the parsonage of Bemerton, and to the thirty-sixth year of his age, and must stop here, and bespeak the Reader to prepare for an almost incredible story, of the great sanctity of the short remainder of his holy life; a life so full of charity, humility, and all Christian virtues, that it deserves the eloquence of St. Chrysostom to commend and declare it: a life that, if it were related by a <sup>30</sup> pen like his, there would then be no need for this age to look back into times past for the examples of primitive piety, for they might be all found in the life of George Herbert. But now, alas! who is fit to undertake it? I confess I am not; and am not pleased with myself that I must; and profess myself amazed, when I consider how

few of the clergy lived like him then, and how many live so unlike him now. But it becomes not me to censure: my design is rather to assure the Reader that I have used very great diligence to inform myself, that I might inform him of the truth of what follows; and though I cannot adorn it with eloquence, yet I will do it with sincerity.

When at his induction he was shut into Bemerton Church, being left there alone to toll the bell (as the Law requires him), he stayed so much longer than an ordinary time, 10 before he returned to those friends that stayed expecting him at the Church-door, that his friend Mr. Woodnot looked in at the Church-window, and saw him lie prostrate on the ground before the altar; at which time and place (as he after told Mr. Woodnot) he set some rules to himself for the future manage of his life; and then and there made a vow to labour to keep them.

And the same night that he had his induction, he said to Mr. Woodnot, "I now look back upon my aspiring thoughts, and think myself more happy than if I had 20 attained what then I so ambitiously thirsted for. And I can now behold the Court with an impartial eye, and see plainly that it is made up of fraud, and titles, and flattery, and many other such empty, imaginary, painted pleasures: pleasures that are so empty as not to satisfy when they are enjoyed. But in God, and His service, is a fullness of all joy and pleasure, and no satiety. And I will now use all my endeavours to bring my relations and dependents to a love and reliance on Him, who never fails those that trust Him. But, above all, I will be sure to live well, because the 30 virtuous life of a Clergyman is the most powerful eloquence to persuade all that see it to reverence and love, and at least to desire to live like him. And this I will do, because I know we live in an age that hath more need of good examples than precepts. And I beseech that God, who hath honoured me so much as to call me to serve Him at His altar, that as by His special grace He hath put into my

heart these good desires and resolutions, so He will, by His assisting grace, give me ghostly strength to bring the same to good effect. And I beseech Him that my humble and charitable life may so win upon others, as to bring glory to my Jesus, whom I have this day taken to be my Master and Governor; and I am so proud of His service, that I will always observe, and obey, and do His will; and always call Him, Jesus my Master; and I will always condemn my birth, or any title or dignity that can be conferred upon me, when I shall compare them with my title of 10 being a Priest, and serving at the altar of Jesus my Master."

And that he did so may appear in many parts of his book of *Sacred Poems*, especially in that which he calls "The Odour." In which he seems to rejoice in the thoughts of that word Jesus, and say that the adding these words, my Master, to it, and the often repetition of them, seemed to perfume his mind, and leave an oriental fragrancy in his very breath. And for his unforced choice to serve at God's altar, he seems in another place of his poems, "The Pearl," (*Matt. xiii.*) to rejoice and say, "He knew the ways of 20 learning; knew what nature does willingly, and what when it is forced by fire; knew the ways of honour, and when glory inclines the soul to noble expressions; knew the Court; knew the ways of pleasure, of love, of wit, of music, and upon what terms he declined all these for the service of his Master Jesus"; and then concludes, saying,

That, through these labyrinths, not by grovelling wit,

But Thy silk twist, let down from Heaven to me,

Did both conduct, and teach me, how by it

To climb to Thee.

30

The third day after he was made Rector of Bermerton, and had changed his sword and silk clothes into a canonical coat, he returned so habited with his friend Mr. Woodnot to Bainton; and immediately after he had seen and saluted his wife, he said to her, " You are now a Minister's wife, and must now so far forget your father's house as

not to claim a precedence of any of your parishioners; for you are to know that a Priest's wife can challenge no precedence or place, but that which she purchases by her obliging humility; and, I am sure, places so purchased do best become them. And let me tell you that I am so good a Herald as to assure you that this is truth." And she was so meek a wife as to assure him, "it was no vexing news to her, and that he should see her observe it with a cheerful willingness." And, indeed, her unforced humility, that 10 humility that was in her so original as to be born with her, made her so happy as to do so; and her doing so begot her an unfeigncd love, and a serviceable respect from all that conversed with her; and this love followed her in all places, as inseparably as shadows follow substances in sunshine.

It was not many days before he returned back to Bemerton, to view the Church, and repair the Chancel, and indeed to rebuild almost three parts of his house, which was fallen down, or decayed by reason of his predecessor's living at a better parsonage-house, namely, at Minal, 20 sixteen or twenty miles from this place. At which time of Mr. Herbert's coming alone to Bemerton, there came to him a poor old woman, with an intent to acquaint him with her necessitous condition, as also with some troubles of her mind; but after she had spoke some few words to him, she was surprised with a fear, and that begot a shortness of breath, so that her spirits and speech failed her; which he perceiving, did so compassionate her, and was so humble, that he took her by the hand, and said, " Speak, good mother; be not afraid to speak to me; for 30 I am a man that will hear you with patience; and will relieve your necessities too, if I be able: and this I will do willingly; and therefore, mother, be not afraid to acquaint me with what you desire." After which comfortable speech, he again took her by the hand, made her sit down by him, and, understanding she was of his parish, he told her, " He would be acquainted with her, and take her into

his care." And having with patience heard and understood her wants (and it is some relief for a poor body to be but heard with patience) he, like a Christian clergyman, comforted her by his meek behaviour and counsel; but because that cost him nothing, he relieved her with money too, and so sent her home with a cheerful heart, praising God, and praying for him. Thus worthy, and (like David's blessed man) thus lowly, was Mr. George Herbert in his own eyes, and thus lovely in the eyes of others.

At his return that night to his wife at Bainton, he gave to her an account of the passages betwixt him and the poor woman: with which she was so affected that she went next day to Salisbury, and there bought a pair of blankets, and sent them as a token of her love to the poor woman, and with them a message, "That she would see and be acquainted with her, when her house was built at Bemerton."

There be many such passages both of him and his wife, of which some few will be related; but I shall first tell that he hastened to get the Parish-Church repaired; then to beautify the chapel (which stands near his house), and to rebuild the greatest part of the parsonage-house, which he did also very completely, and at his own charge; and having done this good work, he caused these verses to be writ upon, or engraven in, the mantle of the chimney in his hall.

To My Successor.

If thou chance for to find  
A new house to thy mind,  
And built without thy cost,  
Be good to the poor,  
As God gives thee store,  
And then my labour's not lost.

30

We will now, by the Reader's favour, suppose him fixed at Bemerton, and grant him to have seen the church repaired, and the chapel belonging to it very decently adorned at his own great charge (which is a real truth), and having now fixed him there, I shall proceed to give

an account of the rest of his behaviour, both to his parishioners, and those many others that knew and conversed with him.

Doubtless Mr. Herbert had considered, and given rules to himself for his Christian carriage both to God and man, before he entered into Holy Orders. And 'tis not unlike but that he renewed those resolutions at his prostration before the holy altar, at his induction into the Church of Bemerton: but as yet he was but a deacon, and therefore longed for the next Ember-week, that he might be ordained priest, and made capable of administering both the Sacraments. At which time the reverend Dr. Humphrey Henchman, now Lord Bishop of London (who does not mention him but with some veneration for his life and excellent learning), tells me, "He laid his hand on Mr. Herbert's head, and, alas! within less than three years, lent his shoulder to carry his dear friend to his grave."

And that Mr. Herbert might the better preserve those holy rules which such a priest as he intended to be ought to observe, and that time might not insensibly blot them out of his memory, but that the next year might show him his variations from this year's resolutions, he therefore did set down his rules, then resolved upon, in that order as the world now sees them printed in a little book, called *The Country Parson*; in which some of his rules are:

|                                 |                                    |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| The Parson's Knowledge.         | The Parson Condescending.          |
| The Parson on Sundays.          | The Parson in his Journey.         |
| The Parson Praying.             | The Parson in his Mirth.           |
| The Parson Preaching.           | The Parson with his Churchwardens. |
| 30 The Parson's Charity.        | The Parson Blessing the People.    |
| The Parson comforting the Sick. |                                    |
| The Parson Arguing.             |                                    |

And his behaviour toward God and man may be said to be a practical comment on these, and the other holy rules

set down in that useful book: a book so full of plain, prudent, and useful rules, that that Country Parson that can spare twelve pence, and yet wants it, is scarce excusable; because it will both direct him what he ought to do, and convince him for not having done it.

At the death of Mr. Herbert, this book fell into the hands of his friend Mr. Woodnot; and he commended it into the trusty hands of Mr. Barnabas Oley, who published it with a conscientious and excellent preface, from which I have had some of those truths, that are related in this 10 life of Mr. Herbert. The text for his first sermon was taken out of Solomon's *Proverbs*, and the words were, "Keep thy heart with all diligence." In which first Sermon he gave his parishioners many necessary, holy, safe rules for the discharge of a good conscience, both to God and man; and deliverd his sermon after a most florid manner, both with great learning and eloquence. But, at the close of this sermon, told them, "That should not be his constant way of preaching; for since Almighty God does not intend to lead men to Heaven by hard questions, he 20 would not therefore fill their heads with unnecessary notions; but that, for their sakes, his language and his expressions should be more plain and practical in his future sermons." And he then made it his humble request, "That they would be constant to the afternoon's service, and catechising": and showed them convincing reasons why he desired it; and his obliging example and persuasions brought them to a willing conformity to his desires.

The texts for all his future sermons (which God knows 30 were not many) were constantly taken out of the Gospel for the day, and he did as constantly declare why the Church did appoint that portion of Scripture to be that day read, and in what manner the Collect for every Sunday does refer to the Gospel, or to the Epistle then read to them. And, that they might pray with understanding,

he did usually take occasion to explain, not only the Collect for every particular Sunday, but the reasons of all the other Collects and Responses in our Church-service; and made it appear to them that the whole service of the Church was a reasonable, and therefore an acceptable sacrifice to God; as, namely, that we begin with "Confession of ourselves to be vile, miserable sinners"; and that we begin so, because, till we have confessed ourselves to be such, we are not capable of that mercy which we acknowledge we  
10 need, and pray for; but having, in the prayer of our Lord, begged pardon for those sins which we have confessed, and hoping that as the Priest hath declared our absolution, so by our public confession, and real repentance, we have obtained that pardon, then we dare and do proceed to beg of the Lord, "to open our lips, that our mouths may show forth his praise," for till then we are neither able, nor worthy to praise him. But this being supposed, we are then fit to say, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost"; and fit to proceed to a  
20 further service of our God, in the Collects, and Psalms, and Lauds that follow in the service.

And as to the Psalms and Lauds, he proceeded to inform them why they were so often, and some of them daily, repeated in our Church-service; namely, the Psalms every month, because they be an historical and thankful repetition of mercies past, and such a composition of prayers and praises as ought to be repeated often, and publicly; for with such sacrifice God is honoured and well-pleased. This for the Psalms.

30 And for the Hymns and Lauds appointed to be daily repeated or sung after the first and second Lessons are read to the congregation, he proceeded to inform them that it was most reasonable, after they have heard the will and goodness of God declared or preached by the Priest in his reading the two chapters, that it was then a seasonable duty to rise up, and express their gratitude to Almighty

God for those His mercies to them, and ~~to all~~ mankind; and then to say with the Blessed Virgin, "that their souls do magnify the Lord, and that their spirits do also rejoice in God their Saviour": and that it was their duty also to rejoice with Simeon in his song, and say with him, "That their eyes have" also "seen their salvation"; for they have seen that salvation which was but prophesied till his time: and he then broke out into those expressions of joy that he did see it, but they live to see it daily in the history of it, and therefore ought daily to rejoice, and daily to offer up to their sacrifices of praise to their God, for that particular mercy. A service, which is now the constant employment of that Blessed Virgin and Simeon, and all those blessed Saints that are possessed of Heaven. and where they are at this time interchangeably and constantly singing, "Holy holy, holy, Lord God, Glory be to God on high, and on earth peace." And he taught them that to do this was an acceptable service to God, because the Prophet David says in his Psalms, "He that praiseth the Lord, honoureth him."

He made them to understand how happy they be that 20 are freed from the encumbrances of that law which our forefathers groaned under: namely, from the legal sacrifices, and from the many ceremonies of the Levitical Law: freed from circumcision, and from the strict observation of the Jewish Sabbath, and the like. And he made them know that having received so many, and so great blessings, by being born since the days of our Saviour, it must be an acceptable sacrifice to Almighty God for them to acknowledge those blessings daily, and stand up and worship, and say as Zacharias did, "Blessed be the Lord God of Israel, 30 for he hath (in our days) visited and redeemed his people; and (he hath in our days) remembered, and showed that mercy, which by the mouth of the Prophets he promised to our forefathers; and this he hath done according to his holy covenant made with them." And he made them to understand that we live to see and enjoy the benefit

of it, in his Birth, in his Life, his Passion, his Resurrection, and Ascension into Heaven, where he now sits sensible of all our temptations and infirmities; and where he is at this present time making intercession for us, to his and our Father: and therefore they ought daily to express their public gratulations, and say daily with Zacharias, "Blessed be that Lord God of Israel, that hath thus visited, and thus redeemed his people."—These were some of the reasons by which Mr Herbert instructed his congregation for the use of the Psalms and the Hymns appointed to be daily sung or said in the Church-service.

He informed them also when the Priest did pray only for the congregation, and not for himself; and when they did only pray for him; as, namely, after the repetition of the Creed before he proceeds to pray the Lord's Prayer, or any of the appointed Collects, the Priest is directed to kneel down, and pray for them, saying, "The Lord be with you"; and when they pray for him, saying, "And with thy spirit"; and then they join together in the following Collects. And he assured them that when there is such mutual love, and such joint prayers offered for each other, then the holy Angels look down from Heaven, and are ready to carry such charitable desires to God Almighty, and He as ready to receive them; and that a Christian congregation calling thus upon God with one heart, and one voice, and in one reverent and humble posture, looks as beautifully as Jerusalem, that is at peace with itself.

He instructed them also why the prayer of our Lord was prayed often in every full service of the Church: namely, at the conclusion of the several parts of that service; and prayed then, not only because it was composed and commanded by our Lord Jesus that made it, but as a perfect pattern for our less perfect forms of prayer, and therefore fittest to sum up and conclude all our imperfect petitions.

He instructed them also, that as by the second Commandment we are required not to bow down, or worship

an idol, or false God<sup>9</sup>; so, by the contrary rule, we are to bow down and kneel, or stand up and worship the true God. And he instructed them why the Church required the congregation to stand up at the repetition of the Creeds; namely, because they thereby declare both their obedience to the Church, and an assent to that faith into which they had been baptized. And he taught them that in that shorter Creed or Doxology, so often repeated daily, they also stood up to testify their belief to be that "the God that they trusted in was one God, and three persons; the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to whom they and the Priest gave glory."<sup>10</sup> And because there had been heretics that had denied some of these three persons to be God, therefore the congregation stood up and honoured him, by confessing and saying, "It was so in the beginning, is now so, and shall ever be so world without end."<sup>11</sup> And all gave their assent to this belief by standing up and saying "Amen."

He instructed them also what benefit they had by the Church's appointing the celebration of Holy-days, and the excellent use of them, namely, that they were set apart for particular commemorations of particular mercies received from Almighty God; and (as Reverend Mr. Hooker says) to be the landmarks to distinguish times; for by them we are taught to take notice how time passes by us, and that we ought not to let the years pass without a celebration of praise for those mercies which those days give us occasion to remember; and therefore they were to note that the year is appointed to begin the 25th day of March, a day in which we commemorate the Angel's appearing to the Blessed Virgin, with the joyful tidings that "she should conceive and bear a son, that should be the Redeemer of mankind."<sup>12</sup> And she did so forty weeks after this joyful salutation, namely, at our Christmas, a day in which we commemorate His birth with joy and praise: and that eight days after this happy birth we celebrate His

circumcision, namely, in that which we call New-year's day. And that, upon that day which we call Twelfth-day, we commemorate the manifestation of the unsearchable riches of Jesus to the Gentiles: and that that day we also celebrate the memory of his goodness in sending a star to guide the three Wise Men from the East to Bethlehem, that they might there worship, and present him with their oblations of gold, frankincense, and myrrh.

And he (Mr. Herbert) instructed them that Jesus was  
 10 forty days after His birth presented by His blessed Mother in the Temple, namely, on that day which we call, "The Purification of the Blessed Virgin, Saint Mary." And he instructed them that by the Lent-fast we imitate and commemorate our Saviour's humiliation in fasting forty days, and that we ought to endeavour to be like Him in purity; and that on Good Friday we commemorate and condole His crucifixion; and at Easter we commemorate His glorious resurrection. And he taught them that after Jesus had manifested Himself to His disciples to be "that  
 20 Christ that was crucified, dead, and buried," and by his appearing and conversing with His disciples for the space of forty days after His resurrection, he then, and not till then, ascended into Heaven in the sight of those disciples, namely, on that day which we call the Ascension, or Holy Thursday. And that we then celebrate the performance of the promise which he made to His disciples at or before His ascension, namely, "that though he left them, yet he would send them the Holy Ghost to be their Comforter"; and that he did so on that day which the Church calls  
 30 Whitsunday.

Thus the Church keeps an historical and circular commemoration of times, as they pass by us; of such times as ought to incline us to occasional praises for the particular blessings which we do, or might receive, by those holy commemorations.

*He made them know also why the Church hath appointed*

Ember-weeks; and' to know the reason why the Commandments, and the Epistles and Gospels, were to be read at the altar or communion table: why the priest was to pray the Litany kneeling, and why to pray some Collects standing: and he gave them many other observations, fit for his plain congregation, but not fit for me now to mention; for I must set limits to my pen, and not make that a treatise, which I intended to be a much shorter account than I have made it; but I have done, when I have told the Reader that he was constant in catechising every Sunday 10 in the afternoon, and that his catechising was after his second lesson, and in the pulpit; and that he never exceeded his half hour, and was always so happy as to have an obedient, and a full congregation.

And to this I must add that, if he were at any time too zealous in his sermons, it was in reproving the indecencies of the people's behaviour in the time of divine service; and of those Ministers that huddled up the Church prayers, without a visible reverence and affection; namely, such as seemed to say the Lord's prayer, or a Collect, in a breath. 20 But for himself, his custom was to stop betwixt every Collect, and give the people time to consider what they had prayed, and to force their desires affectionately to God, before he engaged them into new petitions.

And by this account of his diligence to make his parishioners understand what they prayed, and why they praised, and adored their Creator, I hope I shall the more easily obtain the Reader's belief to the following account of Mr. Herbert's own practice, which was to appear constantly with his wife and three nieces (the daughters of a deceased sister) and his whole family, twice every day at the Church-prayers in the chape<sup>D</sup> which does almost join to his parsonage-house. And for the time of his appearing, it was strictly at the canonical hours of ten and four: and then and there he lifted up pure and charitable hands to God in the midst of the congregation. And he would joy

to have spent that time in that place, where the honour of his Master Jesus dwelleth; and there, by that inward devotion which he testified constantly by an humble behaviour and visible adoration, he, like Joshua, brought not only "his own household thus to serve the Lord," but brought most of his parishioners, and many gentlemen in the neighbourhood, constantly to make a part of his congregation twice a day: and some of the meaner sort of his parish did so love and reverence Mr. Herbert that they would let their plough rest when Mr. Herbert's Saints-bell rung to prayers, that they might also offer their devotions to God with him, and would then return back to their plough. And his most holy life was such, that it begot such reverence to God, and to him, that they thought themselves the happier, when they carried Mr. Herbert's blessing back with them to their labour. Thus powerful was his reason and example to persuade others to a practical piety and devotion.

And his constant public prayers did never make him to neglect his own private devotions, nor those prayers that he thought himself bound to perform with his family, which always were a set form, and not long; and he did always conclude them with that Collect which the Church hath appointed for the day or week.—Thus he made every day's sanctity a step towards that kingdom where impurity cannot enter.

His chiefest recreation was music, in which heavenly art he was a most excellent master, and did himself compose many divine Hymns and Anthems, which he set and sung to his lute or viol; and though he was a lover of retiredness, yet his love to music was such that he went usually twice every week, on certain appointed days, to the Cathedral Church in Salisbury, and at his return would say, "that his time spent in prayer, and Cathedral-music, elevated his soul, and was his Heaven upon earth." But before his return thence to Bemerton, he would usually

sing and play his part at an appointed private music-meeting; and, to justify this practice, he would often say, "Religion does not banish mirth, but only moderates and sets rules to it."

And as his desire to enjoy his Heaven upon earth drew him twice every week to Salisbury, so his walks thither were the occasion of many happy accidents to others, of which I will mention some few.

In one of his walks to Salisbury he overtook a gentleman that is still living in that city, and in their walk together Mr. Herbert took a fair occasion to talk with him, and humbly begged to be excused, if he asked him some account of his faith; and said, "I do this the rather, because though you are not of my parish, yet I receive tithe from you by the hand of your tenant; and, Sir, I am the bolder to do it, because I know there be some sermon-hearers that be like those fishes that always live in salt water, and yet are always fresh."

After which expression Mr. Herbert asked him some needful questions, and having received his answer, gave him such rules for the trial of his sincerity, and for a practical piety, and in so loving and meek a manner, that the gentleman did so fall in love with him, and his discourse, that he would often contrive to meet him in his walk to Salisbury, or to attend him back to Bemerton; and still mentions the name of Mr. George Herbert with veneration, and still praiseth God for the occasion of knowing him.

In another of his Salisbury walks he met with a neighbour Minister, and after some friendly discourse betwixt them, and some condolement for the decay of piety, and too general contempt of the Clergy, Mr. Herbert took occasion to say,

"One cure for these distempers would be for the clergy themselves to keep the Ember-weeks strictly, and beg of their parishioners to join with them in fasting and prayers for a more religious Clergy."

And another cure would be, "for themselves to restore the great and neglected duty of catechising, on which the Salvation of so many of the poor and ignorant lay-people does depend; but, principally, that the clergy themselves would be sure to live unblameably; and that the dignified clergy especially which preach temperance, would avoid surfeiting, and take all occasions to express a visible humility and charity in their lives; for this would force a love and an imitation, and an unfeigned reverence from all that know them to be such." (And for proof of this we need no other testimony than the life and death of Dr. Lake, late Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells.) "This," said Mr. Herbert, "would be a cure for the wickedness and growing atheism of our age. And, my dear brother, till this be done by us, and done in earnest, let no man expect a reformation of the manners of the laity, for 'tis not learning, but this, this only that must do it; and, till then, the fault must lie at our doors."

In another walk to Salisbury he saw a poor man with a  
20 poorer horse, that was fallen under his load; they were both in distress, and needed present help; which Mr. Herbert perceiving, put off his canonical coat, and helped the poor man to unload, and after to load his horse. The poor man blessed him for it, and he blessed the poor man, and was so like the Good Samaritan that he gave him money to refresh both himself and his horse, and told him, "That if he loved himself he should be merciful to his beast." Thus he left the poor man; and at his coming to his musical friends at Salisbury, they began to wonder  
30 that Mr. George Herbert, which used to be so trim and clean, came into that company so soiled and discomposed; but he told them the occasion. And when one of the company told him, "He had disparaged himself by so dirty an employment." his answer was, "That the thought of what he had done would prove music to him at midnight; and that the omission of it would have upbraided and made

discord in his conscience, whensoever he should pass by that place: for, if I be bound to pray for all that be in distress, I am sure that I am bound, so far as it is in my power, to practise what I pray for. And though I do not wish for the like occasion every day, yet let me tell you, I would not willingly pass one day of my life without comforting a sad soul, or showing mercy, and I praise God for this occasion. And now let's tune our instruments."

Thus, as our blessed Saviour after His resurrection did take occasion to interpret the Scripture to Cleopas, and to that other disciple which he met with and accompanied in their journey to Emmaus, so Mr. Herbert, in his path toward Heaven, did daily take any fair occasion to instruct the ignorant, or comfort any that were in affliction; and did always confirm his precepts, by showing humility and mercy, and ministering grace to the hearers.

And he was most happy in his wife's unforced compliance with his acts of Charity, whom he made his almoner, and paid constantly into her hand a tenth penny of what money he received for tithe, and gave her power to dispose 20 that to the poor of his parish, and with it a power to dispose a tenth part of the corn that came yearly into his barn: which trust she did most faithfully perform, and would often offer to him an account of her stewardship, and as often beg an enlargement of his bounty; for she rejoiced in the employment; and this was usually laid out by her in blankets and shoes for some such poor people as she knew to stand in most need of them. This as to her charity.

And for his own, he set no limits to it, nor did ever turn 30 his face from any that he saw in want, but would relieve them, especially his poor neighbours, to the meanest of whose houses he would go, and inform himself of their wants, and relieve them cheerfully, if they were in distress; and would always praise God, as much for being willing, as for being able to do it. And when he was advised by

a friend to be more frugal, because he might have children, his answer was, " He would not see the danger of want so far oft; but being the Scripture does so commend Charity, as to tell us that Charity is the top of Christian virtues, the covering of sins, the fulfilling of the Law, the Life of Faith, and that Charity hath a promise of the blessings of this life, and of a reward in that life which is to come—being these, and more excellent things are in Scripture spoken of thee, O Charity ! and that, being all  
10 my tithes and Church-dues are a deodate from thee, O my God ! make me, O my God ! so far to trust thy promise, as to return them back to thee; and by thy grace I will do so, in distributing them to any of thy poor members that are in distress, or do but bear the image of Jesus my Master." " Sir," said he to his friend, " my wife hath a competent maintenance secured her after my death; and therefore, as this is my prayer, so this my resolution shall, by God's grace, be unalterable."

This may be some account of the excellencies of the active  
20 part of his life; and thus he continued, till a consumption so weakened him as to confine him to his house, or to the chapel, which does almost join to it; in which he continued to read praycers constantly twice every day, though he were very weak; in one of which times of his reading, his wife observed him to read in pain, and told him so, and that it wasted his spirits, and weakened him; and he confessed it did, but said, " his life could not be better spent than in the service of his Master Jesus, who had done and suffered so much for him. But," said he, " I will not be wilful, for  
30 though my spirit be willing, yet I find my flesh is weak, and therefore Mr. Bostock shall be appointed to read prayers for me to-morrow, and I will now be only a hearer of them, till this mortal shall put on immortality." And Mr. Bostock did the next day undertake and continue this happy employment till Mr. Herbert's death. This Mr. Bostock was a learned and virtuous man, an old friend of

Mr. Herbert's, and<sup>o</sup> then his curate to the church of Fulston, which is a mile from Bemerton, to which church Bemerton is but a Chapel of Ease. And this Mr. Bostock did also constantly supply the Church-service for Mr. Herbert in that chapel, when the music-meeting at Salisbury caused his absence from it.

About one month before his death his friend Mr. Farrer (for an account of whom I am by promise indebted to the Reader, and intend to make him sudden payment), hearing of Mr. Herbert's sickness, sent Mr. Edmund Duncon (who <sup>is now Rector of Friar Barnet in the County of Middlesex)</sup> from his house of Gidden Hall, which is near to Huntingdon, to see Mr. Herbert, and to assure him he wanted not his daily prayers for his recovery; and Mr. Duncon was to return back to Gidden, with an account of Mr. Herbert's condition.

Mr. Duncon found him weak, and at that time lying on his bed, or on a pallet; but at his seeing Mr. Duncon he raised himself vigorously, saluted him, and with some earnestness enquired the health of his brother Farrer, of which Mr. <sup>20</sup> Duncon satisfied him; and after some discourse of Mr. Farrer's holy life, and the manner of his constant serving God, he said to Mr. Duncon,—“ Sir, I see by your habit that you are a priest, and I desire you to pray with me ”: which being granted, Mr. Duncon asked him, “ What prayers? ” To which Mr. Herbert's answer was “ O, Sir ! the prayers of my Mother, the Church of England: no other prayers are equal to them ! But at this time I beg of you to pray only the Litany, for I am weak and faint ”: and Mr. Duncon did so. After which, and some other <sup>30</sup> discourse of Mr. Farrer, Mrs. Herbert provided Mr. Duncon a plain supper, and a clean lodging, and he betook himself to rest. This Mr. Duncon tells me; and tells me that, at his first view of Mr. Herbert, he saw majesty and humility so reconciled in his looks and behaviour as begot in him an awful reverence for his person; and says, “ his discourse

was so pious, and his motion so gentle and meek, that after almost forty years, yet they remain still fresh in his memory."

The next morning Mr. Duncon left him, and betook himself to a journey to Bath, but with a promise to return back to him within five days; and he did so. But before I shall say any thing of what discourse then fell betwixt them two, I will pay my promised account of Mr. Farrer.

Mr. Nicholas Farrer (who got the reputation of being called Saint Nicholas at the age of six years) was born in London, and doubtless had good education in his youth; but certainly was, at an early age, made Fellow of Clare-Hall in Cambridge, where he continued to be eminent for his piety, temperance, and learning. About the twenty-sixth year of his age he betook himself to travel, in which he added to his Latin and Greek a perfect knowledge of all the languages spoken in the Western parts of our Christian world; and understood well the principles of their religion, and of their manner, and the reasons of their worship. In this his travel he met with many persuasions to come into a communion with that church which calls itself Catholic: but he returned from his travels as he went, eminent for his obedience to his Mother, the Church of England.

In his absence from England, Mr. Farrer's father (who was a merchant) allowed him a liberal maintenance; and, not long after his return into England, Mr. Farrer had, by the death of his father, or an elder brother, or both, an estate left him, that enabled him to purchase land to the value of four or five hundred pounds a year, the greatest part of which land was at Little Gildon, four or six miles from Huntingdon, and about eighteen from Cambridge; which place he chose for the privacy of it, and for the Hall, which had the parish-church or chapel, belonging and adjoining near to it; for Mr. Farrer, having seen the manners and vanities of the world, and found them to be,

as Mr. Herbert says, “a nothing between two dishes,” did so condemn it, that he resolved to spend the remainder of his life in mortifications, and in devotion, and charity, and to be always prepared for death. And his life was spent thus:

He and his family, which were like a little College, and about thirty in number, did most of them keep Lent, and all Ember-weeks strictly, both in fasting, and using all those mortifications and prayers that the Church hath appointed to be then used; and he and they did the like <sup>10</sup> constantly on Fridays, and on the Vigils or Eves appointed to be fasted before the Saints’ days: and this frugality and abstinence turned to the relief of the poor: but this was but a part of his charity; none but God and he knew the rest.

This family, which I have said to be in number about thirty, were a part of them his kindred, and the rest chosen to be of a temper fit to be moulded into a devout life; and all of them were for their dispositions serviceable, and quiet, and humble, and free from scandal. Having thus <sup>20</sup> fitted himself for his family, he did, about the year 1630, betake himself to a constant and methodical service of God; and it was in this manner. He, being accompanied with most of his family, did himself use to read the common prayers—for he was a deacon—every day, at the appointed hours of ten and four, in the parish-church, which was very near his house, and which he had both repaired and adorned, for it was fallen into a great ruin, by reason of a depopulation of the village before Mr. Farrer bought the manor. And he did also constantly read the Matins <sup>30</sup> every morning at the hour of six, either in the church, or in an oratory which was within his own house. And many of the family did there continue with him after the prayers were ended, and there they spent some hours in singing Hymns, or Anthems, sometimes in the church, and often to an organ in the oratory.

And there they sometimes betook themselves to meditate, or to pray privately, or to read a part of the New Testament to themselves, or to continue their praying or reading the Psalms; and in case the Psalms were not always read in the day, then Mr. Farrer, and others of the congregation did at night, at the ringing of a watch-bell, repair to the church or oratory, and there betake themselves to prayers and lauding God, and reading the Psalms that had not been read in the day: and when these, or any part of the congregation, grew weary or faint, the watch-bell was rung, sometimes before, and sometimes after midnight; and then another part of the family rose, and maintained the watch, sometimes by praying, or singing lauds to God, or reading the Psalms; and when after some hours they also grew weary or faint, then they rung the watch-bell, and were also relieved by some of the former, or by a new part of the society, which continued their devotions (as hath been mentioned) until morning.

And it is to be noted that, in this continued serving of God, the Psalter, or whole Book of Psalms, was in every four and twenty hours sung or read over from the first to the last verse: and this was done as constantly as the sun runs his circle every day about the world, and then begins again the same instant that it ended.

Thus did Mr. Farrer and his happy family serve God day and night; thus did they always behave themselves as in His presence. And they did always eat and drink by the strictest rules of temperance; eat and drink so as to be ready to rise at midnight, or at the call of a watch-bell, 30 and perform their devotions to God. And 'tis fit to tell the Reader that many of the clergy that were more inclined to practical piety and devotion than to doubtful and needless disputations, did often come to Gidden Hall, and make themselves a part of that happy society, and stay a week or more, and then join with Mr. Farrer and the family in these devotions, and assist and ease him or

them in their watch by night. And these various devotions had never less than two of the domestic family in the night; and the watch was always kept in the church or oratory, unless in extreme cold winter nights, and then it was maintained in a parlour which had a fire in it, and the parlour was fitted for that purpose. And this course of piety, and great liberality to his poor neighbours, Mr. Farrer maintained till his death, which was in the year 1639.

Mr. Farrer's and Mr. Herbert's devout lives were both so noted that the general report of their sanctity gave to them occasion to renew that slight acquaintance which was begun at their being contemporaries in Cambridge; and this new holy friendship was long maintained without any interview, but only by loving and endearing letters. And one testimony of their friendship and pious designs may appear by Mr. Farrer's commanding the *Considerations of John Valdesso* (a book which he had met with in his travels, and translated out of Spanish into English) to be examined, and censured by Mr. Herbert before it was made public: which excellent book Mr. Herbert did read, and return back with many marginal notes, as they be now printed with it; and, with them, Mr. Herbert's affectionate letter to Mr. Farrer.

This John Valdesso was a Spaniard, and was for his learning and virtue much valued and loved by the great Emperor Charles the Fifth, whom Valdesso had followed as a cavalier all the time of his long and dangerous wars: and when Valdesso grew old, and grew weary both of war and the world, he took his fair opportunity to declare to the Emperor that his resolution was to decline his Majesty's service, and betake himself to a quiet and contemplative life, "because there ought to be a vacancy of time betwixt fighting and dying." The Emperor had himself, for the same, or other like reasons, put on the same resolution: but God and himself did, till then, only know them; and he did therefore desire Valdesso to consider well of what

he had said, and to keep his purpose within his own breast, till they two might have a second opportunity of a friendly discourse; which Valdesso promised to do.

In the meantime the Emperor appoints privately a day for him and Valdesso to meet again; and, after a pious and free discourse, they both agreed on a certain day to receive the blessed sacrament publicly; and appointed an eloquent and devout friar to preach a sermon of contempt of the world, and of the happiness and benefit of a quiet and 10 contemplative life; which the friar did most affectionately.

After which sermon, the Emperor took occasion to declare openly, "That the preacher had begot in him a resolution to lay down his dignities, and to forsake the world, and betake himself to a monastical life." And he pretended he had persuaded John Valdesso to do the like; but this is most certain, that after the Emperor had called his son Philip out of England, and resigned to him all his kingdoms, that then the Emperor and John Valdesso did perform their resolutions.

20 This account of John Valdesso I received from a friend, that had it from the mouth of Mr. Farrer. And the Reader may note that in this retirement John Valdesso writ his *Hundred and Ten Considerations*, and many other treatises of worth, which want a second Mr. Farrer to procure, and translate them.

After this account of Mr. Farrer and John Valdesso, I proceed to my account of Mr. Herbert and Mr. Duncon, who, according to his promise, returned from Bath the fifth day, and then found Mr. Herbert much weaker than he 30 left him; and therefore their discourse could not be long; but at Mr. Duncon's parting with him Mr. Herbert spoke to this purpose: "Sir, I pray you give my brother Farrer an account of the decaying condition of my body, and tell him I beg him to continue his daily prayers for me; and let him know that I have considered that God only is what he would be; and that I am, by his grace, become now so

like him, as to be pleased with what pleaseth him; and tell him that I do not repine, but am pleased with my want of health; and tell him my heart is fixed on that place where true joy is only to be found; and that I long to be there, and do wait for my appointed change with hope and patience."

Having said this, he did, with so sweet a humility as seemed to exalt him, bow down to Mr. Duncon, and with a thoughtful and contented look say to him, "Sir, I pray deliver this little book to my dear brother Farrer, and tell to him he shall find in it a picture of the many spiritual conflicts that have passed betwixt God and my soul, before I could subject mine to the will of Jesus my Master: in whose service I have now found perfect freedom. Desire him to read it; and then, if he can think it may turn to the advantage of any dejected poor soul, let it be made public; if not, let him burn it; for I and it are less than the least of God's mercies." Thus meanly did this humble man think of this excellent book, which now bears the name of *The Temple; or, Sacred Poems, and Private Ejaculations*; 20 of which Mr. Farrer would say, "There was in it the picture of a divine soul in every page; and that the whole book was such a harmony of holy passions as would enrich the world with pleasure and piety." And it appears to have done so; for there have been more than twenty thousand of them sold since the first impression.

And this ought to be noted, that when Mr. Farrer sent this book to Cambridge to be licensed for the press, the Vice-Chancellor would by no means allow the two so much noted verses,

30

Religion stands a tiptoe in our land,  
Ready to pass to the American strand,

to be printed; and Mr. Farrer would by no means allow the book to be printed, and want them. But after some time, and some arguments for and against their being made public, the Vice-Chancellor said, "I knew Mr. Herbert

well, and know that he had many heavenly speculations, and was a divine poet; but I hope the world will not take him to be an inspired prophet, and therefore I license the whole book." So that it came to be printed without the diminution or addition of a syllable, since it was delivered into the hands of Mr. Duncon, save only that Mr. Farrer hath added that excellent Preface that is printed before it.

At the time of Mr. Duncon's leaving Mr. Herbert (which was about three weeks before his death) his old and dear friend Mr. Woodnot came from London to Remerton, and never left him till he had seen him draw his last breath, and closed his eyes on his death-bed. In this time of his decay he was often visited and prayed for by all the clergy that lived near to him, especially by his friends the Bishop and Prebends of the Cathedral Church in Salisbury; but by none more devoutly than his wife, his three nieces (then a part of his family), and Mr. Woodnot, who were the sad witnesses of his daily decay; to whom he would often speak to this purpose:

20 "I now look back upon the pleasures of my life past, and see the content I have taken in beauty, in wit, in music, and pleasant conversation, are now all passed by me like a dream, or as a shadow that returns not, and are now all become dead to me, or I to them; and I see that as my father and generation hath done before me, so I also shall now suddenly (with Job) make my bed also in the dark; and I praise God I am prepared for it; and I praise Him that I am not to learn patience now I stand in such need of it; and that I have practised mortification, and endeavoured to die daily, that I might not die eternally; and my hope is, that I shall shortly leave this valley of tears, and be free from all fevers and pain; and, which will be a more happy condition, I shall be free from sin, and all the temptations and anxieties that attend it; and this being past, I shall dwell in the New Jerusalem; dwell there with men made perfect; dwell where these eyes shall see

my Master and Saviour Jesus; and with him see my dear mother, and all my relations and friends. But I must die, or not come to that happy place. And this is my content, that I am going daily towards it; and that every day which I have lived, hath taken a part of my appointed time from me; and that I shall live the less time, for having lived this and the day past."

These and the like expressions, which he uttered often, may be said to be his enjoyment of Heaven before he enjoyed it. The Sunday before his death, he rose suddenly 10 from his bed or couch, called for one of his instruments, took it into his hand and said,

" My God, my God,  
My music shall find Thee,  
And every string  
Shall have his attribute to sing "

And having tuned it, he playcd and sung:

" The Sundays of man's life,  
Threaded together on time's string,  
Make bracelets to adorn the wife  
Of the eternal glorious King:  
On Sundays Heaven's doors stand ope;  
Blessings are plentiful and rife,  
More plentiful than hope " 20

Thus he sung on earth such Hymns and Anthems, as the Angels, and he, and Mr. Farrer, now sing in Heaven.

Thus he continued meditating, and praying, and rejoicing, till the day of his death; and on that day said to Mr. Woodnot, " My dear friend, I am sorry I have nothing to present to my merciful God but sin and misery; but 30 the first is pardoned, and a few hours will now put a period to the latter, for I shall suddenly go hence, and be no more seen." Upon which expression Mr. Woodnot took occasion to remember him of the re-edifying Layton Church, and his many acts of mercy. To which he made answer, saying, " They be good works, if they be sprinkled with the blood of Christ, and not otherwise."

After this discourse he became more restless, and his soul seemed to be weary of her earthly tabernacle; and this uneasiness became so visible that his wife, his three nieces, and Mr. Woodnot, stood constantly about his bed, beholding him with sorrow, and an unwillingness to lose the sight of him, whom they could not hope to see much longer. As they stood thus beholding him, his wife observed him to breathe faintly, and with much trouble, and observed him to fall into a sudden agony; which so surprised her that she fell into a sudden passion, and required of him to know how he did. To which his answer was, "that he had passed a conflict with his last enemy, and had overcome him by the merits of his Master Jesus." After which answer he looked up, and saw his wife and nieces weeping to an extremity, and charged them, if they loved him, to withdraw into the next room, and there pray every one alone for him, for nothing but their lamentations could make his death uncomfortable. To which request their sighs and tears would not suffer them to make any reply, but they yielded him a sad obedience, leaving only with him Mr. Woodnot and Mr. Bostock.

Immediately after they had left him, he said to Mr. Bostock, "Pray, Sir, open that door, then look into that cabinet, in which you may easily find my last Will, and give it into my hand"; which being done, Mr. Herbert delivered it into the hand of Mr. Woodnot, and said, "My old friend, I here deliver you my last Will, in which you will find that I have made you my sole Executor for the good of my wife and nieces; and I desire you to show kindness to them, as they shall need it; I do not desire you to be just, for I know you will be so for your own sake; but I charge you, by the religion of our friendship, to be careful of them." And having obtained Mr. Woodnot's promise to be so, he said, "I am now ready to die." After which words he said, "Lord, forsake me not now my strength faileth me: but grant me mercy for the merits of

my Jesus. And now, Lord, Lord, now receive my soul." And with those words he breathed forth his divine soul, without any apparent disturbance, Mr. Woodnot, and Mr. Bostock attending his last breath, and closing his eyes.

Thus he lived, and thus he died, like a Saint, unspotted of the world, full of alms-deeds, full of humility, and all the examples of a virtuous life; which I cannot conclude better than with this borrowed observation:

—All must to their cold graves:  
But the religious actions of the just  
Smell sweet in death, and blossom in the dust

10

Mr. George Herbert's have done so to this, and will doubtless do so to succeeding generations.—I have but this to say more of him: that if Andrew Melvin died before him, then George Herbert died without an enemy. I wish (if God shall be so pleased) that I may be so happy as to die like him.

Iz. WA.

There is a debt justly due to the memory of Mr. Herbert's virtuous Wife, a part of which I will endeavour to pay by a very short account of the remainder of her life, 20 which shall follow.

She continued his disconsolate widow about six years, bemoaning herself, and complaining that she had lost the delight of her eyes; but more that she had lost the spiritual guide for her poor soul; and would often say, "O that I had, like holy Mary, the Mother of Jesus, treasured up all his sayings in my heart! But since I have not been able to do that, I will labour to live like him, that where he now is I may be also." And she would often say (as the Prophet David for his son Absalom), "O that I had died 30 for him!" Thus she continued mourning till time and conversation had so moderated her sorrows that she became the happy wife of Sir Robert Cook, of Highnam, in the County of Gloucester, Knight. And though he put a high value on the excellent accomplishments of her mind and

body, and was so like Mr. Herbert as not to govern like a master, but as an affectionate husband, yet she would even to him often take occasion to mention the name of Mr. George Herbert, and say, "that name must live in her memory till she put off mortality." By Sir Robert she had only one child, a daughter, whose parts and plentiful estate make her happy in this world, and her well using of them gives a fair testimony that she will be so in that which is to come.

10 Mrs. Herbert was the wife of Sir Robert eight years, and lived his widow about fifteen; all which time she took a pleasure in mentioning and commending the excellencies of Mr. George Herbert. She died in the year 1663, and lies buried at Highnam; Mr. Herbert in his own church, under the altar, and covered with a gravestone without any inscription.

This Lady Cook had preserved many of Mr. Herbert's private writings, which she intended to make public; but they and Highnam House were burnt together by the late 20 rebels, and so lost to posterity.

I. W.

## THE LIFE OF SIR HENRY WOTTON

LATE PROVOST OF ETON COLLEGE

Eccles. 44—*These were Honourable Men in their Generation*

Sir Henry Wotton (whose life I now intend to write) was born in the year of our Redemption, 1568, in Bocton-Hall (commonly called Bocton, or Boughton-place, or Palace), in the Parish of Bocton Malherbe, in the fruitful country of Kent. Bocton-Hall being an ancient and goodly structure, beautifying, and being beautified by the parish church of Bocton Malherbe adjoining unto it, and both seated within a fair park of the Wottons, on the brow of such a hill as gives the advantage of a large prospect, 10 and of equal pleasure to all beholders.

But this house and church are not remarkable for anything so much as for that the memorable family of the Wottons have so long inhabited the one, and now lie buried in the other, as appears by their many monuments in that church: the Wottons being a family that hath brought forth divers persons eminent for wisdom and valour; whose heroic acts, and noble employments, both in England and in foreign parts, have adorned themselves and this nation; which they have served abroad faithfully, 20 in the discharge of their great trust, and prudently in their negotiations with several Princes; and also served at home with much honour and justice, in their wise managing a great part of the public affairs thereof, in the various times both of war and peace.

But lest I should be thought by any, that may incline either to deny or doubt this truth, not to have observed moderation in the commendation of this family; and also

for that I believe the merits and memory of such persons ought to be thankfully recorded, I shall offer to the consideration of every Reader, out of the testimony of their pedigree and our Chronicles, a part (and but a part) of that just commendation which might be from thence enlarged, and shall then leave the indifferent Reader to judge whether my error be an excess or defect of commendations.

Sir Robert Wotton, of Bocton Malherbe, Knight, was  
10 born about the year of Christ 1460: he, living in the reign  
of King Edward the Fourth, was by him trusted to be  
Lieutenant of Guisnes, to be Knight Porter, and Comptroller  
of Calais, where he died, and lies honourably buried.

Sir Edward Wotton, of Bocton Malherbe, Knight (son  
and heir of the said Sir Robert), was born in the year of  
Christ 1489, in the reign of King Henry the Seventh; he  
was made Treasurer of Calais, and of the Privy Council to  
King Henry the Eighth, who offered him to be Lord  
Chancellor of England; but (saith Holinshed<sup>1</sup>) out of a  
20 virtuous modesty he refused it.

Thomas Wotton, of Bocton Malherbe, Esquire, son and  
heir of the said Sir Edward (and the father of our Sir  
Henry, that occasions this relation) was born in the year  
of Christ 1521. He was a gentleman excellently educated,  
and studious in all the Liberal Arts, in the knowledge  
whereof he attained unto a great perfection; who, though  
he had (besides those abilities, a very noble and plentiful  
estate, and the ancient interest of his predecessors) many  
invitations from Queen Elizabeth to change his country  
30 recreations and retirement for a Court, offering him a  
Knighthood (she was then with him at his Bocton-Hall),  
and that to be but as an earnest of some more honourable  
and more profitable employment under her; yet he humbly  
refused both, being "a man of great modesty, of a most  
plain and single heart, of an ancient freedom, and integrity

<sup>1</sup> In his *Chronicle*.

of mind." A commendation which Sir Henry Wotton took occasion often to remember with great gladness, and thankfully to boast himself the son of such a father; from whom indeed he derived that noble ingenuity that was always practised by himself, and which he ever both commended and cherished in others. This Thomas was also remarkable for hospitality, a great lover and much beloved of his country; to which may justly be added that he was a cherisher of learning, as appears by that excellent antiquary Mr. William Lambarde, in his *Perambulation of 10 Kent.*

This Thomas had four sons, Sir Edward, Sir James, Sir John, and Sir Henry.

Sir Edward was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and made Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household. "He was," saith Camden, "a man remarkable for many and great employments in the State, during her reign, and sent several times Ambassador into foreign nations. After her death, he was by King James made Comptroller of his Household, and called to be of his Privy Council, and by 20 him advanced to be Lord Wotton, Baron of Merley in Kent, and made Lord Lieutenant of that County."

Sir James, the second son, may be numbered among the martial men of his age, who was in the thirty-eighth of Queen Elizabeth's reign (with Robert Earl of Sussex, Count Lodowick of Nassau, Don Christophoro, son of Antonio, King of Portugal, and divers other gentlemen of nobleness and valour) knighted in the field near Cadiz in Spain, after they had gotten great honour and riches, besides a notable retaliation of injuries, by taking that 30 town.

Sir John, being a gentleman excellently accomplished, both by learning and travel, was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and by her looked upon with more than ordinary favour, and with intentions of preferment; but death in his younger years put a period to his growing hopes.

Of Sir Henry my following discourse shall give an account. The descent of these fore-named Wottons was all in a direct line, and most of them and their actions in the memory of those with whom we have conversed. But if I had looked so far back as to Sir Nicholas Wotton (who lived in the reign of King Richard the Second), or before him upon divers others of great note in their several ages, I might by some be thought tedious; and yet others may more justly think me negligent, if I omit to mention 10 Nicholas Wolton, the fourth son of Sir Robert, whom I first named.

This Nicholas Wotton was Doctor of Law, and sometime Dean both of York and Canterbury: a man whom God did not only bless with a long life, but with great abilities of mind, and an inclination to employ them in the service of his country, as is testified by his several employments,<sup>1</sup> having been sent nine times Ambassador unto foreign Princes, and by his being a Privy Councillor to King Henry the Eighth, to Edward the Sixth, to Queen Mary, 20 and Queen Elizabeth; who also, after he had been, during the wars between England, Scotland, and France, three several times (and not unsuccessfully) employed in Committees for settling of Peace betwixt this and those Kingdoms, "died," saith learned Camden, "full of commendations for wisdom and piety." He was also, by the Will of King Henry the Eighth, made one of his executors, and chief Secretary of State to his son, that pious Prince Edward the Sixth. Concerning which Nicholas Wotton I shall say but this little more; that he refused (being offered 30 it by Queen Elizabeth) to be Archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>2</sup> and that he died not rich, though he lived in that time of the dissolution of Abbeys.

More might be added, but by this it may appear that Sir Henry Wotton was a branch of such a kindred as left a stock of reputation to their posterity: such reputation

<sup>1</sup> Camden in his *Britannia*.

<sup>2</sup> Holinshed.

as might kindle a generous emulation in strangers, and preserve a noble ambition in those of his name and family to perform actions worthy of their ancestors.

And that Sir Henry Wotton did so, might appear more perfectly than my pen can express it, if, of his many surviving friends, some one of higher parts and employments had been pleased to have commended his to posterity. But since some years are now past, and they have all (I know not why) forborne to do it, my gratitude to the memory of my dead friend, and the renewed request of 10 some<sup>1</sup> that still live solicitous to see this duty performed —these have had a power to persuade me to undertake it; which truly I have not done but with some distrust of mine own abilities, and yet so far from despair that I am modestly confident my humble language shall be accepted, because I shall present all Readers with a commixture of truth, and Sir Henry Wotton's merits.

This being premised, I proceed to tell the Reader that the father of Sir Henry Wotton was twice married: first to Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Rudstone, Knight; 20 after whose death, though his inclination was averse to all contentions, yet necessitated he was to several suits in Law, in the prosecution whereof (which took up much of his time, and were the occasion of many discontents) he was by divers of his friends earnestly persuaded to a re-marriage; to whom he as often answered, " That if ever he did put on a resolution to marry, he was seriously resolved to avoid three sorts of persons:

30

namely, those { that had children;  
                  that had law-suits;  
                  that were of his kindred."

And yet, following his own law-suits, he met in Westminster-Hall with Mrs. Eleonora Morton, widow to Robert

<sup>1</sup> Sir Edward Bysshe, Clarenceux King of Arms, Mr. Charles Cotton, and Mr. Nic. Oudert, sometime Sir Henry Wotton's servant.

Morton, of Kent, Esquire, who was also engaged in several suits in Law: and he, observing her comportment at the time of hearing one of her causes before the judges, could not but at the same time both compassionate her condition, and affect her person (for the tears of lovers, or beauty dressed in sadness, are observed to have in them a charming eloquence, and to become very often too strong to be resisted): which I mention, because it proved so with this Thomas Wotton; for although there were in her a concurrence of all those accidents, against which he had so seriously resolved, yet his affection to her grew then so strong that he resolved to solicit her for a wife, and did, and obtained her.

By her (who was the daughter of Sir William Finch, of Eastwell, in Kent) he had only Henry his youngest son. His mother undertook to be tutoress unto him during much of his childhood; for whose care and pains he paid her each day with such visible signs of future perfection in learning as turned her employment into a pleasing trouble; which she was content to continue till his father took him into his own particular care, and disposed of him to a tutor in his own house at Bocton.

And when time and diligent instruction had made him fit for a removal to an higher form (which was very early), he was sent to Winchester school, a place of strict discipline and order, that so he might in his youth be moulded into a method of living by rule, which his wise father knew to be the most necessary way to make the future part of his life both happy to himself, and useful for the discharge of all business, whether public or private.

And that he might be confirmed in this regularity, he was, at a fit age, removed from that school, to be a Commoner of New-College in Oxford, both being founded by William Wickham, Bishop of Winchester.

There he continued till about the eighteenth year of his age, and was then transplanted into Queen's College,

where, within that year, he was by the chief of that College persuasively enjoined to write a play for their private use (it was the Tragedy of Tancredo), which was so interwoven with sentences, and for the method and exact personating those humours, passions, and dispositions, which he proposed to represent, so performed, that the gravest of that society declared he had, in a slight employment, given an early and a solid testimony of his future abilities. And though there may be some sour dispositions, which may think this not worth a memorial, yet that wise Knight to Baptista Guarini (whom learned Italy accounts one of her ornaments) thought it neither an uncomely, nor an unprofitable employment for his age.

But I pass to what will be thought more serious.

About the twentieth year of his age he proceeded Master of Arts, and at that time read in Latin three Lectures *de Oculo*; wherein he having described the form, the motion, the curious composure of the eye, and demonstrated how, of those very many, every humour and nerve performs its distinct office, so as the God of Order hath 20 appointed, without mixture or confusion; and all this to the advantage of man, to whom the eye is given, not only as the body's guide, but whereas all other of his senses require time to inform the soul, this in an instant apprehends and warns him of danger; teaching him in the very eyes of others to discover wit, folly, love, and hatred—after he had made these observations, he fell to dispute this Optic question, "Whether we see by the emission of the beams from within, or reception of the species from without?"

And after that, and many other like learned disquisitions, he, in the conclusion of his Lectures, took a fair occasion to beautify his discourse with a commendation of the blessing and benefit of Seeing: "by which we do not only discover Nature's secrets, but with a continued content (for the eye is never weary of seeing) behold the great Light of the World, and by it discover the fabric of the

Heavens, and both the order and motion of the Celestial Orbs; nay, that if the eye look but downward, it may rejoice to behold the bosom of the Earth, our common mother, embroidered and adorned with numberless and various flowers, which man sees daily grow up to perfection, and then silently moralise his own condition, who in a short time (like those very flowers) decays, withers, and quickly returns again to that Earth, from which both had their first being."

These were so exactly debated, and so rhetorically heightened, as, among other admirers, caused that learned Italian, Albericus Gentilis, then Professor of the Civil Law in Oxford, to call him "Henrice mi Ocelle"; which dear expression of his was also used by divers of Sir Henry's dearest friends, and by many other persons of note during his stay in the University.

But his stay there was not long, at least not so long as his friends once intended, for the year after Sir Henry proceeded Master of Arts, his father (whom Sir Henry did never mention without this, or some like reverential expression as "That good man my Father," or, "My Father, the best of men")—about that time, this good man changed this for a better life, leaving to Sir Henry, as to his other younger sons, a rent-charge of an hundred marks a year, to be paid for ever out of some one of his manors of a much greater value.

And here, though this good man be dead, yet I wish a circumstance or two that concern him may not be buried without a relation; which I shall undertake to do, for that I suppose they may so much concern the Reader to know, 30 that I may promise myself a pardon for a short digression.

In the year of our Redemption, 1553, Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury (whom I formerly mentioned), being then Ambassador in France, dreamed that his nephew, this Thomas Wotton, was inclined to be a party in such a project as, if he were not suddenly prevented, would turn both to the loss of his life, and ruin of his family.

Doubtless the good Dean did well know that common dreams are but a senseless paraphrase on our waking thoughts, or of the business of the day past, or are the result of our over-engaged affections, when we betake ourselves to rest; and knew that the observation of them may turn to silly superstitions, as they too often do. But, though he might know all this, and might also believe that prophecies are ceased, yet doubtless he could not but consider that all dreams are not to be neglected, or cast away without all consideration, and did therefore rather lay this dream aside than intend totally to lose it. And dreaming the same again the night following, when it became a double dream, like that of Pharaoh (of which double dreams the learned have made many observations), and considering that it had no dependence on his waking thoughts, much less on the desires of his heart, then he did more seriously consider it; and remembered that Almighty God was pleased in a dream to reveal and to assure Monica,<sup>1</sup> the Mother of St. Austin, "That he, her son, for whom she wept so bitterly and prayed so much, should at last become a Christian."

This, I believe, the good Dean considered; and considering also that Almighty God (though the causes of Dreams be often unknown) hath even in these latter times also by a certain illumination of the soul in sleep discovered many things that human wisdom could not foresee; upon these considerations he resolved to use so prudent a remedy, by way of prevention, as might introduce no great inconvenience either to himself or to his nephew. And to that end he wrote to the Queen ('twas Queen Mary),<sup>30</sup> and besought her, "That she would cause his nephew, Thomas Wotton, to be sent for out of Kent; and that the Lords of her Council might interrogate him in some such feigned questions as might give a colour for his commitment into a favourable prison; declaring that he would

<sup>1</sup> St. Austin's *Confession.*

acquaint her Majesty with the true reason of his request, when he should next become so happy as to see, and speak to her Majesty."

It was done as the Dean desired: and in prison I must leave Mr. Wotton, till I have told the Reader what followed.

At this time a marriage was concluded betwixt our Queen Mary, and Philip, King of Spain. And though this was concluded with the advice, if not by the persuasion, of her Privy Council, as having many probabilities of advantage to this nation, yet divers persons of a contrary persuasion did not only declare against it, but also raised forces to oppose it, believing (as they said) it would be a means to bring England to be under a subjection to Spain, and make those of this nation slaves to strangers.

And of this number Sir Thomas Wyat, of Boxley-Abbey in Kent (betwixt whose family and the family of the Wottons there had been an ancient and entire friendship) was the principal actor; who having persuaded many of the nobility and gentry (especially of Kent) to side with him,  
20 and he being defeated, and taken prisoner, was legally arraigned and condemned, and lost his life. So did the Duke of Suffolk, and divers others, especially many of the gentry of Kent, who were there in several places executed as Wyat's assistants.

And of this number, in all probability, had Mr. Wotton been, if he had not been confined; for, though he could not be ignorant that "another man's treason makes it mine by concealing it," yet he durst confess to his uncle, when he returned into England, and then came to visit  
30 him in prison, "That he had more than an intimation of Wyat's intentions"; and thought he had not continued actually innocent, if his uncle had not so happily dreamed him into a prison; out of which place when he was delivered by the same hand that caused his commitment, they both considered the dream more seriously, and then both joined in praising God for it: "That God who ties himself to no

rules, either in preventing of evil, or in showing of mercy to those whom of good pleasure he hath chosen to love."

And this dream was the more considerable, because that God, who in the days of old did use to speak to his people in visions, did seem to speak to many of this family in dreams: of which I will also give the Reader one short particular of this Thomas Wotton, whose dreams did usually prove true, both in foretelling things to come, and discovering things past. And the particular is this: this Thomas, a little before his death, dreamed that the University Treasury was robbed by townsmen and poor scholars, and that the number was five; and being that day to write to his son Henry at Oxford, he thought it worth so much pains as by a postscript in his letter to make a slight enquiry of it. The letter (which was writ out of Kent, and dated three days before) came to his son's hands the very morning after the night in which the robbery was committed; and when the City and University were both in a perplexed inquest of the thieves, then did Sir Henry Wotton show his father's letter, and by it such light was given of this work of darkness that the five ~~guilty persons~~ were presently discovered and apprehended, without putting the University to so much trouble as the casting of a figure.

And it may yet be more considerable, that this Nicholas and Thomas Wotton should both (being men of holy lives, of even tempers, and much given to fasting and prayer) foresee and foretell the very days of their own death. Nicholas did so, being then seventy years of age, and in perfect health. Thomas did the like in the sixty-fifth year of his age; who being then in London (where he died), and foreseeing his death there, gave direction in what manner his body should be carried to Bocton; and though he thought his uncle Nicholas worthy of that noble monument which he built for him in the Cathedral Church of Canterbury, yet this humble man gave direction

concerning himself, to be buried privately, and especially without any pomp at his funeral. This is some account of this family, which seemed to be beloved of God.

But it may now seem more than time that I return to Sir Henry Wotton at Oxford; where, after his Optic Lecture, he was taken into such a bosom friendship with the learned Albericus Gentilis (whom I formerly named), that, if it had been possible, Gentilis would have breathed all his excellent knowledge, both of the Mathematics and to Law, into the breast of his dear Harry (for so Gentilis used to call him); and though he was not able to do that, yet there was in Sir Henry such a propensity and connaturalness to the Italian language, and those studies whereof Gentilis was a great master, that this friendship between them did daily increase, and proved daily advantageous to Sir Henry, for the improvement of him in several sciences during his stay in the University.

From which place before I shall invite the Reader to follow him into a foreign nation, though I must omit to mention divers persons that were then in Oxford, of memorable note for learning, and friends to Sir Henry Wotton, yet I must not omit the mention of a love that was there begun betwixt him and Dr. Donne (sometime Dean of St. Paul's), a man of whose abilities I shall forbear to say anything, because he who is of this nation, and pretends to learning or ingenuity, and is ignorant of Dr. Donne, deserves not to know him. The friendship of these two I must not omit to mention, being such a friendship as was generously elemented; and as it was begun in their youth, and in an University, and there maintained by correspondent inclinations and studies, so it lasted till age and death forced a separation.

In Oxford he stayed till about two years after his father's death; at which time he was about the two and twentieth year of his age; and having to his great wit added the ballast of learning, and knowledge of the arts, he then

laid aside his books, and betook himself to the useful library of travel, and a more general conversation with mankind, employing the remaining part of his youth, his industry and fortune, to adorn his mind, and to purchase the rich treasure of foreign knowledge; of which, both for the secrets of Nature, the dispositions of many nations, their several laws and languages, he was the possessor in a very large measure, as I shall faithfully make to appear, before I take my pen from the following narration of his life.

In his travels, which was almost nine years before his 10 return into England, he stayed but one year in France, and most of that in Geneva, where he became acquainted with Theodore Beza (then very aged), and with Isaac Casaubon, in whose house (if I be rightly informed) Sir Henry Wotton was lodged, and there contracted a most worthy friendship with that man of rare learning and ingenuity.

Three of the remaining eight years were spent in Germany, the other five in Italy (the stage on which God appointed he should act a great part of his life); where both in Rome, Venice, and Florence, he became acquainted 20 with the most eminent men for learning and all manner of Arts: as picture, sculpture, chemistry, architecture, and other manual arts, even arts of inferior nature; of all which he was a most dear lover, and a most excellent judge.

He returned out of Italy into England about the thirtieth year of his age, being then noted by many both for his person and comportment: for indeed he was of a choice shape, tall of stature, and of a most persuasive behaviour; which was so mixed with sweet discourse and civilities, as gained him much love from all persons with whom he entered 30 into an acquaintance.

And whereas he was noted in his youth to have a sharp wit, and apt to jest, that by time, travel, and conversation was so polished, and made so useful, that his company seemed to be one of the delights of mankind; insomuch as Robert Earl of Essex (then one of the darlings of Fortune,

and in greatest favour with Queen Elizabeth) invited him first into a friendship, and, after a knowledge of his great abilities, to be one of his secretaries, the other being Mr. Henry Cuffe, sometime of Merton College in Oxford (and there also the acquaintance of Sir Henry Wotton in his youth), Mr. Cuffe being then a man of no common note in the University for his learning; nor, after his removal from that place, for the great abilities of his mind, nor indeed for the fatalness of his end.

- 10 Sir Henry Wotton, being now taken into a serviceable friendship with the Earl of Essex, did personally attend his counsels and employments in two voyages at sea against the Spaniard, and also in that (which was the Earl's last) into Ireland: that voyage, wherein he then did so much provoke the Queen to anger, and worse at his return into England; upon whose immovable favour the Earl had built such sandy hopes as encouraged him to those undertakings, which, with the help of a contrary faction, suddenly caused his commitment to the Tower.
- 20 Sir Henry Wotton observing this, though he was not of that faction (for the Earl's followers were also divided into their several interests) which encouraged the Earl to those undertakings which proved so fatal to him and divers of his confederation, yet, knowing treason to be so comprehensive as to take in even circumstances, and out of them to make such positive conclusions as subtle statesmen shall project, either for their revenge or safety; considering this, he thought prevention, by absence out of England, a better security than to stay in it, and there plead his innocency
- 30 in a prison. Therefore did he, so soon as the Earl was apprehended, very quickly, and as privately, glide through Kent to Dover, without so much as looking toward his native and beloved Bocton; and was, by the help of favourable winds, and liberal payment of the mariners, within sixteen hours after his departure from London set upon the French shore; where he heard shortly after that

the Earl was arraigned, condemned, and beheaded, and that his friend Mr. Culfe was hanged, and divers other persons of eminent quality executed.

The times did not look so favourably upon Sir Henry Wotton as to invite his return into England; having therefore procured of Sir Edward Wotton, his elder brother, an assurance that his annuity should be paid him in Italy, thither he went, happily renewing his intermittent friendship and interest, and indeed his great content in a new conversation with his old acquaintance in that nation, and 10 more particularly in Florence (which city is not more eminent for the Great Duke's Court than for the great recourse of men of choicest note for learning and arts), in which number he there met with his old friend Signior Vietta, a gentleman of Venice, and then taken to be Secretary to the Great Duke of Tuscany.

After some stay in Florence he went the fourth time to visit Rome, where, in the English College, he had very many friends (their humanity made them really so, though they knew him to be a dissenter from many of their 20 principles of religion); and having enjoyed their company, and satisfied himself concerning some curiosities that did partly occasion his journey thither, he returned back to Florence, where a most notable accident befel him: an accident that did not only find new employment for his choice abilities, but introduce him to a knowledge and an interest with our King James, then King of Scotland: which I shall proceed to relate.

But first I am to tell the Reader that, though Queen Elizabeth (or she and her Council) were never willing to 30 declare her successor, yet James, then King of the Scots, was confidently believed by most to be the man upon whom the sweet trouble of kingly government would be imposed; and the Queen declining very fast, both by age and visible infirmities, those that were of the Romish persuasion in point of religion (even Rome itself, and those of this nation),

knowing that the death of the Queen and the establishing of her successor were taken to be critical days for destroying or establishing the Protestant religion in this nation, did therefore improve all opportunities for preventing a Protestant Prince to succeed her. And as the Pope's excommunication of Queen Elizabeth had both by the judgment and practice of the Jesuated Papist exposed her to be warrantably destroyed, so (if we may believe an angry adversary, a secular Priest<sup>1</sup> against a Jesuit) you may to believe that about that time there were many endeavours first to excommunicate, and to shorten the life of King James.

Immediately after Sir Henry Wotton's return from Rome to Florence (which was about a year before the death of Queen Elizabeth), Ferdinand the Great Duke of Florence had intercepted certain letters that discovered a design to take away the life of James, the then King of Scots. The Duke abhorring the fact, and resolving to endeavour a prevention of it, advised with his Secretary 20 Vietta, by what means a caution might be best given to that King; and after consideration it was resolved to be done by Sir Henry Wotton, whom Vietta first commended to the Duke, and the Duke had noted and approved of above all the English that frequented his Court.

Sir Henry was gladly called by his friend Vietta to the Duke, who, after much profession of trust and friendship, acquainted him with the secret; and being well instructed, dispatched him into Scotland with letters to the King, and with those letters such Italian antidotes against poison as 30 the Scots till then had been strangers to.

Having parted from the Duke, he took up the name and language of an Italian, and, thinking it best to avoid the line of English intelligence and danger, he posted into Norway, and through that country towards Scotland, where he found the King at Stirling. Being there, he used

<sup>1</sup> Watson in his *Quodlibets*.

means, by Bernard Lindsey, one of the King's Bedchamber, to procure him a speedy and private conference with his Majesty, assuring him, "That the business which he was to negotiate was of such consequence as had caused the Great Duke of Tuscany to enjoin him suddenly to leave his native country of Italy, to impart it to his King."

This being by Bernard Lindsey made known to the King, the King, after a little wonder (mixed with jealousy) to hear of an Italian Ambassador, or messenger, required his name (which was said to be Octavio Baldi), and appointed him to be heard privately at a fixed hour that evening.

When Octavio Baldi came to the Presence-chamber door, he was requested to lay aside his long rapier (which, Italian-like, he then wore), and being entered the chamber, he found there with the King three or four Scotch Lords standing distant in several corners of the chamber at the sight of whom he made a stand; which the King observing, "bade him be bold, and deliver his message, for he would undertake for the secrecy of all that were present." Then did Octavio Baldi deliver his letters and his message to the King in Italian; which when the King had graciously received, after a little pause Octavio Baldi steps to the table, and whispers to the King in his own language that he was an Englishman, beseeching him for a more private conference with his Majesty, and that he might be concealed during his stay in that nation; which was promised, and really performed by the King during all his abode there, which was about three months; all which time was spent with much pleasantness to the King, and with as much to Octavio Baldi himself as that country could afford; from which he departed as true an Italian as he came thither.

To the Duke at Florence he returned with a fair and grateful account of his employment; and within some few months after his return there came certain news to Florence that Queen Elizabeth was dead, and James, King of the Scots, proclaimed King of England. The Duke knowing

travel and business to be the best schools of wisdom, and that Sir Henry Wotton had been tutored in both, advised him to return presently to England, and there joy the King with his new and better title, and wait there upon Fortune for a better employment.

When King James came into England, he found, amongst other of the late Queen's officers, Sir Edward, who was after Lord Wotton, Comptroller of the House, of whom he demanded, "If he knew onc Henry Wotton, that had <sup>10</sup> spent much time in foreign travel?" The Lord replied he knew him well, and that he was his brother. Then the King, asking where he then was, was answered, at Venice or Florence; but by late letters from thence he understood he would suddenly be at Paris. "Send for him" said the King, "and when he shall come into England, bid him repair privately to me." The Lord Wotton, after a little wonder, asked the King, "If he knew him?" To which the King answered, "You must rest unsatisfied of that till you bring the gentleman to me."

<sup>20</sup> Not many months after this discourse, the Lord Wotton brought his brother to attend the King, who took him in his arms, and bade him welcome by the name of Octavio Baldi, saying, "he was the most honest, and therefore the best dissembler that ever he met with": and said, "Seeing I know you neither want learning, travel, nor experience, and that I have had so real a testimony of your faithfulness, and abilities to manage an ambassage, I have sent for you to declare my purpose, which is to make use of you in that kind hereafter." And indeed the King did so most of <sup>30</sup> those two and twenty years of his reign; but before he dismissed Octavio Baldi from his present attendance upon him, he restored him to his old name of Henry Wotton, by which he then knighted him.

Not long after this, the King having resolved according to his Motto (*Beati pacifici*) to have a friendship with his neighbour Kingdoms of France and Spain, and also, for

divers weighty reasons, to enter into an alliance with the State of Venice, and to that end to send Ambassadors to those several places, did propose the choice of these employments to Sir Henry Wotton; who, considering the smallness of his own estate (which he never took care to augment), and knowing the Courts of great Princes to be sumptuous, and necessarily expensive, inclined most to that of Venice, as being a place of more retirement, and best suiting with his genius, who did ever love to join with business, study, and a trial of natural experiments; for both to which fruitful Italy, that darling of Nature, and cherisher of all arts, is so justly famed in all parts of the Christian world.

Sir Henry having after some short time and consideration resolved upon Venice, and a large allowance being appointed by the King for his voyage thither, and a settled maintenance during his stay there, he left England, nobly accompanied through France to Venice by gentlemen of the best families and breeding that this nation afforded; they were too many to name, but these two, for the following reasons, may not be omitted: Sir Albertus 20 Morton, his nephew, who went his Secretary; and William Bedel, a man of choice learning, and sanctified wisdom, who went his Chaplain. And though his dear friend Dr. Donne (then a private gentleman) was not one of that number that did personally accompany him in this voyage, yet the reading of this following letter sent by him to Sir Henry Wotton, the morning before he left England, may testify he wanted not his friend's best wishes to attend him.

SIR,

After those reverend papers, whose soul is  
Our good and great King's lov'd hand and fear'd name,  
By which to you he derives much of his,  
And, how he may, makes you almost the same,

30

A taper of his torch: a copy writ  
From his original, and a fair beam  
Of the same warm and dazzling Sun, though it  
Must in another sphere his virtue stream;

After those learned papers, which your hand  
Hath stor'd with notes of use and pleasure too:  
From which rich treasury you may command  
Fit matter whether you will write or do:

After those loving papers which friends send  
With glad grief to your sea-ward steps farewell,  
And thicken on you now as prayers ascend  
To Heaven in troops at a good man's passing-bell:

10 Admit this honest paper, and allow  
It such an audience as yourself would ask;  
What you would say at Venice, this says now,  
And has for nature what you have for task:

To swear much love; not to be chang'd before  
Honour alone will to your fortune fit;  
Nor shall I then honour your fortune more  
Than I have done your honour wanting it.

20 But 'tis an easier load (though both oppress)  
To want, than govern greatness, for we are  
In that, our own and only business,  
In this, we must for others' vices care.

'Tis therefore well your spirits now are plac'd  
In their last furnace, in activity;  
Which fits them (Schools, and Courts, and Wars o'erpast)  
To touch and taste in any best degree.

For me (if there be such a thing as I)  
Fortune (if there be such a thing as she)  
Spies that I bear so well her tyranny,  
That she thinks nothing else so fit for me.

30 But though she part us, to hear my oft prayers  
For your increase, God is as near me here:  
And, to send you what I shall beg, His stairs  
In length and ease are alike everywhere.

J. DONNE.

Sir Henry Wotton was received by the State of Venice with much honour and gladness, both for that he delivered his ambassage most elegantly in the Italian language, and came also in such a juncture of time as his master's friendship seemed useful for that Republic; the time of his coming thither was about the year 1604. Leonardo Donato

being then Duke, a wise and resolved man, and to all purposes such (Sir Henry Wotton would often say it) as the State of Venice could not then have wanted, there having been formerly, in the time of Pope Clement the Eighth, some contests about the privileges of Churchmen and the power of the Civil Magistrate; of which, for the information of common readers, I shall say a little, because it may give light to some passages that follow.

About the year 1603 the Republic of Venice made several injunctions against lay-persons giving lands or goods to the Church, without licence from the Civil Magistrate; and in that inhibition they expressed their reasons to be, "For that when any goods or land once came into the hands of the Ecclesiastics, it was not subject to alienation; by reason whereof (the lay-people being at their death charitable even to excess) the Clergy grew every day more numerous, and pretended an exemption from all public service and taxes, and from all secular judgment, so that the burden grew thereby too heavy to be borne by the Laity." 20

Another occasion of difference was, that about this time complaints were justly made by the Venetians against two clergymen, the Abbot of Nervosa, and a Canon of Vicenza, for committing such sins as I think not fit to name; nor are these mentioned with an intent to fix a scandal upon any calling—for holiness is not tied to ecclesiastical orders, and Italy is observed to breed the most virtuous and most vicious men of any nation. These two having been long complained of at Rome in the name of the State of Venice, and no satisfaction being given to the Venetians, they seized the persons of this Abbot and Canon, and committed them to prison. 30

The justice or injustice of such, or the like power, then used by the Venetians, had formerly had some calm debates betwixt the former Pope Clement the Eighth, and the Republic: I say calm, for he did not excommunicate

them; considering (as I conceive) that in the late Council of Trent it was at last (after many politic disturbances and delays, and endeavours to preserve the Pope's present power) in order to a general reformation of those many errors, which were in time crept into the Church, declared by that Council, "That though discipline and especial Excommunication be one of the chief sinews of Church-government, and intended to keep men in obedience to it, for which end it was declared to be very profitable, yet it  
10 was also declared, and advised to be used with great sobriety and care, because experience had informed them that, when it was pronounced unadvisedly or rashly, it became more contemned than feared."

And, though this was the advice of that Council at the conclusion of it, which was not many years before this quarrel with the Venetians, yet this prudent, patient Pope Clement dying, Pope Paul the Fifth, who succeeded him (though not immediately, yet in the same year), being a man of a much hotter temper, brought this difference with  
20 the Venetians to a much higher contention; objecting those late acts of that State to be a diminution of his just power, and limited a time of twenty-four days for their revocation; threatening, if he were not obeyed, to proceed to excommunication of the Republic, who still offered to show both reason and ancient custom to warrant their actions. But this Pope, contrary to his predecessor's moderation, required absolute obedience without disputes.

Thus it continued for about a year, the Pope still threatening excommunication, and the Venetians still  
30 answering him with fair speeches, and no compliance, till at last the Pope's zeal to the Apostolic See did make him excommunicate the Duke, the whole Senate, and all their dominions, and, that done, to shut up all their churches, charging the whole Clergy to forbear all sacred offices to the Venetians, till their obedience should render them capable of Absolution.

But this act of the Pope's did the more confirm the Venetians in their resolution not to obey him; and to that end, upon the hearing of the Pope's Interdict, they presently published, by sound of trumpet, a Proclamation to this effect:

"That whosoever hath received from Rome any copy of a papal Interdict, published there, as well against the Law of God, as against the honour of this nation, shall presently render it to the Council of Ten, upon pain of Death." And made it loss of estate and nobility but to speak in the behalf of the Jesuits.

Then was Duado their Ambassador called home from Rome, and the Inquisition presently suspended by order of the State; and the flood-gates being thus set open, any man that had a pleasant or scoffing wit might safely vent it against the Pope, either by free speaking, or by libels in print; and both became very pleasant to the people.

Matters thus heightened, the State advised with Father Paul, a holy and learned Friar (the author of the *History of the Council of Trent*), whose advice was "Neither to provoke the Pope, nor lose their own right": he declaring publicly in print, in the name of the State, "That the Pope was trusted to keep two keys, one of Prudence, and the other of Power: and that, if they were not both used together, Power alone is not effectual in an Excommunication."

And thus these discontents and oppositions continued, till a report was blown abroad that the Venetians were all turned Protestants: which was believed by many, for that it was observed that the English Ambassador was so often in conference with the Senate, and his chaplain, Mr. Bedel, 30 more often with Father Paul, whom the people did not take to be his friend; and also, for that the Republic of Venice was known to give commission to Gregory Justiniano, then their Ambassador in England, to make all these proceedings known to the King of England, and to crave a promise of his assistance, if need should require:

and in the meantime they required the King's advice and judgment; which was the same that he gave to Pope Clement, at his first coming to the Crown of England (that Pope then moving him to an union with the Roman Church); namely, "To endeavour the calling of a free Council for the settlement of peace in Christendom; and that he doubted not but that the French King, and divers other Princes, would join to assist in so good a work, and, in the meantime, the sin of this breach both with his and the Venetians' dominions, must of necessity lie at the Pope's door."

In this contention (which lasted almost two years) the Pope grew still higher, and the Venetians more and more resolved and careless; still acquainting King James with their proceedings, which was done by the help of Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and Padre Paulo, whom the Venetians did then call to be one of their Consulters of State, and with his pen to defend their just cause; which was by him so performed that the Pope saw plainly he had weakened his power by exceeding it, and offered the Venetians absolution upon very easy terms; which the Venetians still slighting, did at last obtain by that which was scarce so much as a show of acknowledging it; for they made an order that in that day in which they were absolved there should be no public rejoicing, nor any bonfires that night, lest the common people might judge that they desired an absolution, or were absolved for committing a fault.

These contests were the occasion of Padre Paulo's knowledge and interest with King James, for whose sake principally Padre Paulo compiled that eminent *History of the remarkable Council of Trent*; which history was, as fast as it was written, sent in several sheets in letters by Sir Henry Wotton, Mr. Bedel, and others, unto King James, and the then Bishop of Canterbury, into England, and there first made public both in English, and in the universal language.

For eight years after Sir Henry Wotton's going into Italy, he stood fair and highly valued in the King's opinion; but at last became much clouded by an accident, which I shall proceed to relate.

At his first going Ambassador into Italy, as he passed through Germany, he stayed some days at Augusia, where having been in his former travels well known by many of the best note for learning and ingeniousness (those that are esteemed the virtuosi of that nation), with whom he passing an evening in merriments, was requested by 10 Christopher Flecamore to write some sentence in his Albo —a book of white paper, which for that purpose many of the German gentry usually carry about them; and Sir Henry Wotton consenting to the motion, took an occasion, from some accidental discourse of the present company, to write a pleasant definition of an Ambassador in these very words:

“*Legatus est vir bonus peregrè missus ad mentiendum  
Reipublicae causâ.*”

Which Sir Henry Wotton could have been content 20 should have been thus Englished:

“An Ambassador is an honest man, sent to lie abroad for the good of his country.”

But the word for lie (being the hinge upon which the conceit was to turn) was not so expressed in Latin as would admit (in the hands of an enemy especially) so fair a construction as Sir Henry thought in English. Yet as it was, it slept quietly among other sentences in this Albo almost eight years, till by accident it fell into the hands of Jasper Scioppius, a Romanist, a man of a restless spirit, 30 and a malicious pen; who, with books against King James, prints this as a principle of that religion professed by the King, and his Ambassador Sir Henry Wotton, then at Venice; and in Venice it was presently after written in several glass-windows, and spitefully declared to be Sir Henry Wotton's.

This coming to the knowledge of King James, he apprehended it to be such an oversight, such a weakness, or worse, in Sir Henry Wotton, as caused the King to express much wrath against him: and this caused Sir Henry Wotton to write two apologies, one to Velserus (one of the chiefs of Augusta) in the universal language, which he caused to be printed, and given, and scattered in the most remarkable places both in Germany and Italy, as an antidote against the venomous books of Scioppius; and to another apology to King James: which were both so ingenious, so clear, and so choicely eloquent, that his Majesty (who was a pure judge of it) could not forbear, at the receipt thereof, to declare publicly, "That Sir Henry Wotton had commuted sufficiently for a greater offence."

And now, as broken bones well set become stronger, so Sir Henry Wotton did not only recover, but was much more confirmed in his Majesty's estimation and favour than formerly he had been.

And, as that man of great wit and useful fancy, his friend Dr. Donne, gave in a Will of his (a Will of conceits) his Reputation to his Friends, and his Industry to his Foes, because from thence he received both: so those friends that in this time of trial laboured to excuse this facetious freedom of Sir Henry Wotton's were to him more dear, and by him more highly valued; and those acquaintance that urged this as an advantage against him, caused him by this error to grow both more wise, and (which is the best fruit error can bring forth) for the future to become more industriously watchful over his tongue and pen.

I have told you a part of his employment in Italy, where, notwithstanding the death of his favourer, the Duke Leonardo Donato, who had an undissembled affection for him, and the malicious accusation of Scioppius, yet his interest (as though it had been an entailed love) was still found to live and increase in all the succeeding Dukes

during his employment to that State, which was almost twenty years; all which time he studied the dispositions of those Dukes, and the other Consulters of State, well knowing that he who negotiates a continued business, and neglects the study of dispositions, usually fails in his proposed ends. But in this Sir Henry Wotton did not fail; for, by a fine sorting of fit presents, curious, and not costly entertainments, always sweetened by various and pleasant discourse, with which, and his choice application of stories, and his elegant delivery of all these, even in 10 their Italian language, he first got, and still preserved, such interest in the State of Venice, that it was observed (such was either his merit or his modesty) they never denied him any request.

But all this shows but his abilities, and his fitness for that employment: it will therefore be needful to tell the Reader what use he made of the interest which these procured him; and that indeed was rather to oblige others than to enrich himself, he still endeavouring that the reputation of the English might be maintained, both in 20 the German Empire, and in Italy; where many gentlemen, whom travel had invited into that nation, received from him cheerful entertainments, advice for their behaviour, and, by his interest, shelter or deliverance from those accidental storms of adversity which usually attend upon travel.

And because these things may appear to the Reader to be but generals, I shall acquaint him with two particular examples: one of his merciful disposition, and one of the nobleness of his mind; which shall follow. 30

There had been many English Soldiers brought by Commanders of their own country to serve the Venetians for pay against the Turk; and those English, having by irregularities, or improvidence, brought themselves into several galleys and prisons, Sir Henry Wotton became a petitioner to that State for their lives and enlargement;

and his request was granted: so that those (which were many hundreds, and there made the sad examples of human misery, by hard imprisonment, and unpitied poverty in a strange nation) were by his means released, relieved, and in a comfortable condition sent to thank God and him for their lives and liberty in their own country.

And this I have observed as one testimony of the compassionate nature of him, who was, during his stay in those parts, as a city of refuge for the distressed of this,  
10 and other nations.

And for that which I offer as a testimony of the nobleness of his mind, I shall make way to the Reader's clearer understanding of it by telling him that, beside several other foreign employments, Sir Henry Wotton was sent thrice Ambassador to the Republic of Venice. And at his last going thither he was employed Ambassador to several of the German Princes, and more particularly to the Emperor Ferdinando the Second; and that his employment to him, and those Princes, was to incline them to  
20 equitable conditions for the restoration of the Queen of Bohemia and her descendants to their patrimonial inheritance of the Palatinate.

This was, by his eight months' constant endeavours and attendance upon the Emperor, his Court, and Council, brought to a probability of a successful conclusion, without bloodshed. But there were at that time two opposite armies in the field, and, as they were treating, there was a battle fought, in the manery whereof there were so many miserable errors on the one side (so Sir Henry  
30 Wotton expresses it in a dispatch to the King), and so advantageous events to the Emperor, as put an end to all present hopes of a successful treaty; so that Sir Henry, seeing the face of peace altered by that victory, prepared for a removal from that Court; and at his departure from the Emperor was so bold as to remember him, "That the events of every battle move on the unseen wheels of

Fortune, which are this moment up, and down the next: and therefore humbly advised him to use his victory so soberly, as still to put on thoughts of peace." Which advice, though it seemed to be spoke with some passion (his dear mistress the Queen of Bohemia being concerned in it), was yet taken in good part by the Emperor, who replied, " That he would consider his advice. And though he looked on the King his master as an abettor of his enemy the Palsgrave, yet, for Sir Henry himself, his behaviour had been such during the manage of the Treaty <sup>10</sup> that he took him to be a person of much honour and merit, and did therefore desire him to accept of that Jewel, as a testimony of his good opinion of him": which was a jewel of diamonds of more value than a thousand pounds.

This jewel was received with all outward circumstances and terms of honour by Sir Henry Wotton. But the next morning, at his departing from Vienna, he, at his taking leave of the Countess of Sabrina (an Italian lady, in whose house the Emperor had appointed him to be lodged, and honourably entertained), acknowledged her merits, and <sup>20</sup> besought her to accept of that jewel, as a testimony of his gratitude for her civilities, presenting her with the same that was given him by the Emperor; which being suddenly discovered, and told to the Emperor, was by him taken for a high affront, and Sir Henry Wotton told so by a messenger. To which he replied, " That though he received it with thankfulness, yet he found in himself an indisposition to be the better for any gift that came from an enemy to his Royal Mistress, the Queen of Bohemia"; for so she was pleased he should always call her. <sup>30</sup>

Many other of his services to his Prince and this nation might be insisted upon: as, namely, his procurations of privileges and courtesies with the German Princes, and the Republic of Venice, for the English Merchants; and what he did by direction of King James with the Venetian State, concerning the Bishop of Spalato's return to the Church

of Rome. But for the particulars of these, and many more that I meant to make known, I want a view of some papers that might inform me (his late Majesty's Letter-Office having now suffered a strange alienation), and indeed I want time too, for the Printer's press stays for what is written: so that I must haste to bring Sir Henry  
 7. Wotton in an instant from Venice to London, leaving the Reader to make up what is defective in this place, by the small supplement of the Inscription under his Arms, to which he left at all those houses where he rested, or lodged, when he returned from his late Embassy into England.

Henricus Wottonius *Anglo-Cantianus*, Thomæ optimi vii filius natu minimus, a Serenissimo Jacobo I. Mag. Britt. Rege, in equestrem titulum adscitus, ejusdemque ter ad Rempublicam Venetam Legatus Ordinarius, semel ad Confederatarum Provinciarum Ordines in Juliacensi negotio, bis ad Carolum Emanuel, Sabaudie Ducem, semel ad Unitos superioris Germaniae Principes in Conventu Heilbrunensi, postremo ad Archiducem Leopoldum,  
 20 Ducem Wittembergensem, Civitates imperiales, Argentinam, Ulmamque, et ipsum Romanorum Imperatorem Ferdinandum Secundum, Legatus Extraordinarius, tandem hoc didicit,  
*Animas fieri sapientiores quiescendo.*

To London he came the year before King James died; who having, for the reward of his foreign service, promised him the reversion of an office, which was fit to be turned into present money, which he wanted, for a supply of his present necessities; and also granted him the reversion of the Master of the Rolls place, if he outlived charitable Sir  
 30 Julius Caesar, who then possessed it, and then grown so old that he was said to be kept alive beyond Nature's course, by the prayers of those many poor which he daily relieved.

But these were but in hope; and his condition required a present support; for in the beginning of these employments he sold to his elder brother, the Lord Wotton, the

rent-charge left by his good father, and (which is worse) was now at his return indebted to several persons, whom he was not able to satisfy but by the King's payment of his arrears due for his foreign employments. He had brought into England many servants, of which some were German and Italian artists: this was part of his condition, who had many times hardly sufficient to supply the occasions of the day: for it may by no means be said of his providence, as himself said of Sir Philip Sidney's wit, "That it was the very measure of congruity," he being <sup>20</sup> always so careless of money, as though our Saviour's words, "Care not for to-morrow," were to be literally understood.

But it pleased the God of providence that in this juncture of time the Provostship of his Majesty's College of Eton became void by the death of Mr. Thomas Murray, for which there were (as the place deserved) many earnest and powerful suitors to the King. And Sir Henry, who had for many years (like Sisyphus) rolled the restless stone of a State-employment, knowing experimentally that the great blessing of sweet content was not to be found in <sup>20</sup> multitudes of men or business, and that a College was the fittest place to nourish holy thoughts, and to afford rest both to his body and mind, which his age (being now almost threescore years) seemed to require, did therefore use his own, and the interest of all his friends to procure that place. By which means, and quitting the King of his promised reversionary offices, and a piece of honest policy (which I have not time to relate) he got a grant of it from his Majesty.

And this was a fair satisfaction to his mind; but money <sup>30</sup> was wanting to furnish him with those necessaries which attend removes, and a settlement in such a place; and, to procure that, he wrote to his old friend Mr. Nicholas Pey, for his assistance. Of which Nicholas Pey I shall here say a little, for the clearing of some passages that I shall mention hereafter.

He was in his youth a clerk, or in some such way a servant to the Lord Wotton, Sir Henry's brother; and by him, when he was Comptroller of the King's Household, was made a great officer in his Majesty's house. This and other favours being conferred upon Mr. Pey (in whom there was a radical honesty) were always thankfully acknowledged by him, and his gratitude expresscd by a willing and unwearied serviceableness to that familly even till his death. To him Sir Henry Wotton wrote, to use all  
10 his interest at Court to procure five hundred pounds of his arrears, for less would not settle him in the College, and the want of such a sum "wrinkled his face with care" ('twas his own expression); and, that money being procured, he should the next day after find him in his College, and *Invidiae remedium* wait over his study door.

This money, being part of his arrears, was, by his own, and the help of honest Nicholas Pey's interest in Court, quickly procured him, and he as quickly in the College, the place where indeed his happiness then seemed to have  
20 its beginning, the College bcing to his mind as a quiet harbour to a sea-faring man after a tempestuous voyage; where, by the bounty of the pious Founder, his very food and raiment were plentifully provided for him in kind, and more money than enough; where he was freed from all corroding cares, and seated on such a rock as the waves of want could not probably shake; where he might sit in a calm, and, looking down, behold the busy multitude turmoiled and tossed in a tempestuous sea of trouble and dangers; and (as Sir William Davenant has happily  
30 expressed the like of another person)

" Laugh at the graver business of the State,  
Which speaks men rather wise than fortunate."

Being thus settled according to the desires of his heart, his first study was the Statutes of the College, by which he conceived himself bound to enter into Holy Orders; which he did, being made Deacon with all convenient speed.

Shortly after which time, as he came in his surplice from the Church-service, an old friend, a person of quality, met him so attired, and joyed him of his new habit. To whom Sir Henry Wotton replied, "I thank God and the King, by whose goodness I am now in this condition; a condition which that Emperor Charles the Fifth seemed to approve, who, after so many remarkable victories, when his glory was great in the eyes of all men, freely gave up his Crown, and the many cares that attended it, to Philip his son, making a holy retreat to a cloisteral life, where he might 10 by devout meditations consult with God (which the rich or busy men seldom do), and have leisure both to examine the errors of his life past, and prepare for that great day, wherin all flesh must make an account of their actions. And after a kind of tempestuous life I now have the like advantage from him, 'that makes the out-goings of the morning to praise him,' even from my God, whom I daily magnify for this particular mercy of an exemption from business, a quiet mind, and a liberal maintenance, even in this part of my life, when my age and infirmities seem 20 to sound me a retreat from the pleasures of this world, and invite me to contemplation, in which I have ever taken the greatest felicity."

And now to speak a little of the employment of his time in the College. (After his customary public devotions, his use was to retire into his study, and there to spend some hours in reading the Bible, and authors in Divinity, closing up his meditations with private prayer; this was, for the most part, his employment in the forenoon.) But when he was once sat to dinner, then nothing but cheerful thoughts 30 possessed his mind, and those still increased by constant company at his table of such persons as brought thither additions both of learning and pleasure; but some part of most days was usually spent in philosophical conclusions. Nor did he forget his innate pleasure of angling, which he would usually call "his idle time not idly spent," saying

often, "he would rather live five May months than forty Decembers."

He was a great lover of his neighbours, and a bountiful entertainer of them very often at his table, where his meat was choice, and his discourse better.

He was a constant cherisher of all those youths in that school, in whom he found either a constant diligence, or a genius that prompted them to learning; for whose encouragement he was (beside many other things of necessity and beauty) at the charge of setting up in it two rows of pillars, on which he caused to be choicely drawn the pictures of divers of the most famous Greek and Latin Historians, Poets, and Orators; persuading them not to neglect Rhetoric, because " Almighty God has left mankind affections to be wrought upon ". and he would often say, " That none despised Eloquence, but such dull souls as were not capable of it." He would also often make choice of some observations out of those Historians and Poets; and would never leave the school without dropping some choice Greek or Latin apophthegm or sentence, that might be worthy of a room in the memory of a growing scholar.

He was pleased constantly to breed up one or more hopeful youths, which he picked out of the school, and took into his own domestic care, and to attend him at his meals; out of whose discourse and behaviour he gathered observations for the better completing of his intended work of Education: of which, by his still striving to make the whole better, he lived to leave but part to posterity.

30 He was a great enemy to wrangling disputes of religion; concerning which I shall say a little, both to testify that, and to show the readiness of his wit.

Having at his being in Rome made acquaintance with a pleasant priest, who invited him one evening to hear their Vesper music at church, the Priest, seeing Sir Henry stand obscurely in a corner, sends to him by a boy of the choir

this question, writ in a small piece of paper, "Where was your religion to be found before Luther?" To which question Sir Henry presently under-writ, "My Religion was to be found then, where yours is not to be found now, in the written Word of God."

The next Vesper, Sir Henry went purposely to the same church, and sent one of the choir-boys with this question to his honest, pleasant friend, the priest: "Do you believe all those many thousands of poor Christians were damned, that were excommunicated because the Pope and the Duke 20 of Venice could not agree about their temporal power? even those poor Christians that knew not why they quarrelled. Speak your conscience." To which he under-writ in French, "Monsieur, excusay-moy."

To one that asked him, "Whether a Papist may be saved?" he replied, "You may be saved without knowing that. Look to yourself."

To another, whose earnestness exceeded his knowledge, and was still railing against the Papists, he gave this advice, "Pray, Sir, forbear till you have studied the points 20 better; for the wise Italians have this proverb: 'He that understands amiss concludes worse.' And take heed of thinking the farther you go from the Church of Rome, the nearer you are to God."

And to another that spake indiscreet and bitter words against Arminius, I heard him reply to this purpose:

"In my travels towards Venice, as I passed through Germany, I rested almost a year at Leyden, where I entered into an acquaintance with Arminius (then the Professor of Divinity in that University), a man much 30 talked of in this age, which is made up of opposition and controversy. And indeed, if I mistake not Arminius in his expressions (as so weak a brain as mine is may easily do), then I know I differ from him in some points; yet I profess my judgment of him to be, that he was a man of most rare learning, and I knew him to be of a most strict

life, and of a most meek spirit. And that he was so mild appears by his proposals to our Master Perkins of Cambridge, from whose book *Of the Order and Causes of Salvation* (which was first writ in Latin) Arminius took the occasion of writing some queries to him concerning the consequents of his doctrine, intending them ('tis said) to come privately to Mr. Perkins's own hands, and to receive from him a like private and a like loving answer. But Mr. Perkins died before those queries came to him, and 'tis thought Arminius  
10 meant them to die with him; for though he lived long after, I have heard he forbore to publish them: but since his death his sons did not.

"And 'tis pity, if God had been so pleased, that Mr. Perkins did not live to see, consider, and answer those proposals himself; for he was also of a most meek spirit, and of great and sanctified learning. And though, since their deaths, many of high parts and piety have undertaken to clear the controversy, yet for the most part they have rather satisfied themselves than convinced the dissenting  
20 party. And, doubtless, many middle-witted men (which yet may mean well), many scholars that are not in the highest form for learning (which yet may preach well), men that are but preachers, and shall never know, till they come to Heaven, where the questions stick betwixt Arminius and the Church of England (if there be any), will yet in this world be tampering with, and thereby perplexing the controversy, and do therefore justly fall under the reproof of St. Jude, for being busy-bodies, and for meddling with things they understand not."

30 And here it offers itself (I think not unfitly) to tell the Reader that a friend of Sir Henry Wotton's, being designed for the employment of an Ambassador, came to Eton, and requested from him some experimental rules for his prudent and safe carriage in his negotiations; to whom he smilingly gave this for an infallible aphorism: "That, to be in safety himself, and serviceable to his country, he should always,

and upon all occasions, speak the truth (it seems a State paradox), for, says Sir Henry Wotton, you shall never be believed; and by this means your truth will secure yourself, if you shall ever be called to any account; and 'twill also put your adversaries (who will still hunt counter) to a loss in all their disquisitions and undertakings."

Many more of this nature might be observed, but they must be laid aside; for I shall here make a little stop, and invite the Reader to look back with me, whilst, according to my promise, I shall say a little of Sir Albertus Morton, 10 and Mr. William Bedel, whom I formerly mentioned.

I have told you that are my Reader, that at Sir Henry Wotton's first going Ambassador into Italy his cousin, Sir Albertus Morton, went his secretary: and am next to tell you that Sir Albertus died Secretary of State to our late King; but cannot, am not able to express the sorrow that possessed Sir Henry Wotton at his first hearing the news that Sir Albertus was by death lost to him and this world. And yet the Reader may partly guess by these following expressions: the first in a letter to his Nicholas 20 Pey, of which this that followeth is a part.

—“And, my dear Nick, when I had been here almost a fortnight, in the midst of my great contentment, I received notice of Sir Albertus Morton his departure out of this world, who was dearer to me than mine own being in it; what a wound it is to my heart, you that knew him, and know me, will easily believe: but our Creator's will must be done, and unrepiningly received by his own creatures, who is the Lord of all Nature and of all Fortune, when he taketh to himself now one, and then another, till 30 that expected day, wherein it shall please him to dissolve the whole, and wrap up even the Heaven itself as a scroll of parchment. This is the last philosophy that we must study upon earth; let us therefore, that yet remain here, as our days and friends waste, reinforce our love to each other; which of all virtues, both spiritual and moral, hath

the highest privilege, because death itself cannot end it.  
And my good Nick," etc.

This is a part of his sorrow thus expressed to his Nick  
Pey: the other part is in this following Elegy, of which  
the Reader may safely conclude it was too hearty to be  
dissembled.

TEARS WEPI AI THE GRAVE OF SIR ALBERTUS MORTON,  
BY HENRY WOTTON.

10 Silence, in truth, would speak my sorrow best,  
For deepest wounds can least their feelings tell  
Yet let me borrow from mine own unrest  
A time to bid him, whom I lov'd, farewell.

Oh, my unhappy lines ! you that before  
Have serv'd my youth to vent some wanton cries,  
And now, congeal'd with grief, can scarce implore  
Strength to accent, " Here my Albeitus lies "

20 This is that sable stone, this is the cave  
And womb of earth, that doth his corpse embrace:  
While others sing his praise, let me engrave  
These bleeding numbers to adorn the place.

Here will I paint the characters of woe;  
Here will I pay my tribute to the dead;  
And here my faithful tears in showers shall flow,  
To humanise the flints on which I tread.

Where though I mourn my matchless loss alone,  
And none between my weakness judge and me,  
Yet even these pensive walls allow my moan,  
Whose doleful echoes to my plaints agree.

30 But is he gone ? and live I rhyming here,  
As if some Muse would listen to my lay ?  
When all distur'd sit waiting for their dear,  
And bathe the banks where he was wont to play.

Dwell then in endless bliss with happy souls,  
Discharg'd from Nature's and from Fortune's trust;  
Whilst on this fluid globe my hour-glass rolls,  
And runs the rest of my remaining dust.

H. W.

This concerning his Sir Albertus Morton.

And for what I shall say concerning Mr. William Bedel, I must prepare the Reader by telling him that when King James sent Sir Henry Wotton Ambassador to the State of Venice, he sent also an Ambassador to the King of France, and another to the King of Spain. With the Ambassador of France went Joseph Hall (late Bishop of Norwich), whose many and useful works speak his great merit: with the Ambassador of Spain went James Wadsworth; and with Sir Henry Wotton went William Bedel. 10

These three chaplains to these three Ambassadors were all bred in one University, all of one College,<sup>1</sup> all beneficed in one diocese, and all most dear and entire friends. But in Spain Mr. Wadsworth met with temptations, or reasons, such as were so powerful as to persuade him (who of the three was formerly observed to be the most averse to that religion that calls itself Catholic) to disclaim himself a member of the Church of England, and declare himself for the Church of Rome, discharging himself of his attendance on the Ambassador, and betaking himself to a monasterial life, in which he lived very regularly, and so died.

When Dr. Hall (the late Bishop of Norwich) came into England, he wrote to Mr. Wadsworth ('tis the first Epistle in his printed Decades) to persuade his return, or to show the reason of his apostacy. The letter seemed to have in it many sweet expressions of love, and yet there was in it some expression that was so unpleasant to Mr. Wadsworth that he chose rather to acquaint his old friend Mr. Bedel with his motives; by which means there passed betwixt 30 Mr. Bedel and Mr. Wadsworth divers letters which be extant in print, and did well deserve it; for in them there seems to be a controversy, not of religion only, but who should answer each other with most love and meekness:

<sup>1</sup> Emanuel College in Cambridge.

which I mention the rather, because it too seldom falls out to be so in a book-war.

There is yet a little more to be said of Mr. Bedel, for the greatest part of which the Reader is referred to this following letter of Sir Henry Wotton's, writ to our late King Charles the First:

" May it please Your most Gracious Majesty,

" Having been informed that certain persons have, by the good wishes of the Archbishop of Armagh, been directed hither, with a most humble petition unto your Majesty that You will be pleased to make Mr. William Bedel (now resident upon a small benefice in Suffolk), Governor of your College at Dublin, for the good of that Society; and myself being required to render unto your Majesty some testimony of the said William Bedel who was long my chaplain at Venice, in the time of my first employment there; I am bound in all conscience and truth so far as your Majesty will vouchsafe to accept my poor judgment) to affirm of him, that I think hardly a fitter 20 man for that charge could have been propounded unto your Majesty in your whole kingdom, for singular erudition and piety, conformity to the rites of the Church, and zeal to advance the cause of God, wherein his travails abroad were not obscure in the time of the Excommunication of the Venetians.

" For it may please your Majesty to know, that this is the man whom Padre Paulo took, I may say, into his very soul, with whom he did communicate the inwardest thoughts of his heart; from whom he professed to have received 30 more knowledge in all Divinity, both scholastical and positive, than from any that he had ever practised in his days; of which all the passages were well known to the King your Father, of most blessed memory. And so, with your Majesty's good favour, I will end this needless office; for the general fame of his learning, his life, and Christian

temper, and those religious labours which himself hath dedicated to your Majesty, do better describe him than I am able.

Your Majesty's

Most humble and faithful servant,

H. WOTTON."

To this letter I shall add this: that he was (to the great joy of Sir Henry Wotton) made Governor of the said college;<sup>1</sup> and that, after a fair discharge of his duty and trust there, he was thence removed to be Bishop of 10 Kilmore.<sup>2</sup> In both places his life was so holy as seemed to equal the primitive Christians: for as they, so he kept all the Ember-weeks, observed (besides his private devotions) the canonical hours of prayer very strictly, and so he did all the Feasts and Fast-days of his Mother, the Church of England. To which I may add that his patience and charity were both such as showed his affections were set upon things that are above; for indeed his whole life brought forth the fruits of the spirit, there being in him such a remarkable meekness that, as St. Paul advised his 20 Timothy in the election of a Bishop, "That he have a good report of those that be without,"<sup>3</sup> so had he: for those that were without, even those that in point of religion were of the Roman persuasion (of which there were many in his Diocese) did yet (such is the power of visible piety) ever look upon him with respect and reverence, and testified it by a concealing, and safe protecting him from death in the late horrid rebellion in Ireland, when the fury of the wild Irish knew no distinction of persons; and yet, there and then, he was protected and cherished by those of a contrary 30 persuasion; and there and then he died, not by violence or misusage, but by grief in a quiet prison. And with him was lost many of his learned writings which were

<sup>1</sup> Aug. 1627.

<sup>2</sup> Sept. 3, 1629.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 7.

thought worthy of preservation; and amongst the rest was lost the Bible, which by many years' labour, and conference, and study, he had translated into the Irish tongue, with an intent to have printed it for public use.

More might be said of Mr. Bedel, who (I told the Reader) was Sir Henry Wotton's first chaplain, and much of his second chaplain, Isaac Bargrave, Doctor of Divinity, and the late learned and hospitable Dean of Canterbury; as also of the merit of many others that had the happiness to attend Sir Henry in his foreign employments. But the Reader may think that in this digression I have already carried him too far from Eton College, and therefore I shall lead him back as gently, and as orderly as I may to that place, for a further conference concerning Sir Henry Wotton.

Sir Henry Wotton had proposed to himself, before he entered into his Collegiate life, to write the Life of Martin Luther, and in it the History of the Reformation, as it was carried on in Germany: for the doing of which he had many advantages by his several Embassies into those parts, and his interest in the several Princes of the Empire; by whose means he had access to the Records of all the Hanse Towns, and the knowledge of many secret passages that fell not under common view; and in these he had made a happy progress, as was well known to his worthy friend, Dr. Duppa, the late reverend Bishop of Salisbury. But in the midst of this design, his late Majesty King Charles the First, that knew the value of Sir Henry Wotton's pen, did, by a persuasive loving violence (to which may be added a promise of 500*l.* a year) force him to lay Luther aside, and betake himself to write the History of England; in which he proceeded to write some short characters of a few Kings, as a foundation upon which he meant to build; but, for the present, meant to be more large in the story of Henry the Sixth, the Founder of that College, in which he then enjoyed all the worldly happiness of his present being.

But Sir Henry died in the midst of this undertaking, and the footsteps of his labours are not recoverable by a more than common diligence.

This is some account both of his inclination, and the employment of his time in the College, where he seemed to have his youth renewed by a continual conversation with that learned society, and a daily recourse of other friends of choicest breeding and parts; by which that great blessing of a cheerful heart was still maintained, he being always free, even to the last of his days, from that peevishness to which usually attends age.

And yet his mirth was sometimes damped by the remembrance of divers old debts, partly contracted in his foreign employments, for which his just arrears due from the King would have made satisfaction: but, being still delayed with Court-promises, and finding some decays of health, he did, about two years before his death, out of a Christian desire that none should be a loser by him, make his last Will; concerning which a doubt still remains, namely, whether it discovered more holy wit, or conscientiable policy. But there is no doubt but that his chief design was a Christian endeavour that his debts might be satisfied.

And that it may remain as such a testimony, and a legacy to those that loved him, I shall here impart it to the Reader, as it was found writ with his own hand.

"In the name of God Almighty and All-merciful, I Henry Wotton, Provost of his Majesty's College by Eton, being mindful of mine own mortality, which the sin of our first parents did bring upon all flesh, do by this last Will 30 and Testament thus dispose of myself, and the poor things I shall leave in this world. My Soul I bequeath to the Immortal God my Maker, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, my blessed Redeemer and Mediator, through his all-sole sufficient satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, and efficient for his elect; in the number of whom I am one by

his mere grace, and thereof most unremoveably assured by his Holy Spirit, the true eternal Comforter. My body I bequeath to the earth, if I shall end my transitory days at or near Eton, to be buried in the Chapel of the said College, as the Fellows shall dispose thereof, with whom I have lived (my God knows) in all loving affection; or if I shall die near Bocton Malherbe, in the County of Kent, then I wish to be laid in that parish-church, as near as may be to the sepulchre of my good father, expecting a joyful resurrection with him in the day of Christ."

After this account of his faith, and this surrender of his soul to that God that inspired it, and this direction for the disposal of his body, he proceeded to appoint that his Executors should lay over his grave a marble stone, plain, and not costly. And considering that time mouldereth even marble to dust (for Monuments themselves must die),<sup>1</sup> therefore did he (waiving the common way) think fit rather to preserve his name (to which the son of Sirach adviseth all men) by a useful Apophthegm than by a large enumeration of his descent or merits, of both which he might justly have boasted; but he was content to forget them, and did choose only this prudent, pious sentence to discover his disposition, and preserve his memory.

"Twas directed by him to be thus inscribed:

*Hic jacet hujus Sententiae primus Author :*

*DISPUTANDI PRURITUS, ECCLESIARUM SCABIES.*

*Nomen alias quaere.*

Which may be Englished thus:

*Here lies the first Author of this sentence :*

30      *THE ITCH OF DISPUTATION WILL PROVE THE SCAB  
OF THE CHURCH,*

*Inquire his name elsewhere.*

<sup>1</sup> Juvenal.

And if any shall object, as I think some have, that Sir Henry Wotton was not the first author of this sentence, but that this, or a sentence like it, was long before his time, to him I answer that Solomon says, " Nothing can be spoken, that hath not been spoken; for there is no new thing under the sun." But grant that in his various reading he had met with this, or a like sentence, yet reason mixed with charity should persuade all Readers to believe that Sir Henry Wotton's mind was then so fixed on that part of the communion of Saints which is 10 above that an holy lethargy did surprise his memory. For doubtless, if he had not believed himself to be the first author of what he said, he was too prudent first to own, and then expose it to the public view and censure of every critic.

And questionless 'twill be charity in all Readers to think his mind was then so fixed on Heaven that a holy zeal did transport him; and that, in this sacred ecstacy, his thoughts were then only of the Church Triumphant (into which he daily expected his admission), and that Almighty God was 20 then pleased to make him a Prophet, to tell the Church Militant, and particularly that part of it in this nation, where the weeds of controversy grow to be daily both more numerous, and more destructive to humble piety, and where man have consciences that boggle at ceremonies, and yet scruple not to speak and act such sins as the ancient humble Christians believed to be a sin to think, and where, our reverend Hooker says, " former simplicity, and softness of spirit is not now to be found, because Zeal hath drowned Charity, and Skill, Meekness." It will be 30 good to think that these sad changes have proved this Epitaph to be a useful caution unto us of this nation; and the sad effects thereof in Germany have proved it to be a mournful truth.

This by way of observation concerning his Epitaph; the rest of his Will follows in his own words.

" Further, I, the said Henry Wotton, do constitute and ordain to be joint Executors of this my last Will and Testament my two grand-nephews, Albert Morton, second son to Sir Robert Morton, Knight, late deceased, and Thomas Bargrave, eldest son to Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, husband to my right virtuous and only niece. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, my most faithful and chosen friends, together with Mr. John Harrison, one of the Fellows of Eton College, best  
10 acquainted with my books and pictures, and other utensils, to be supervisors of this my last Will and Testament. And I do pray the foresaid Dr. Bargrave, and Mr. Nicholas Pey, to be solicitors for such arrearages as shall appear due unto me from his Majesty's Exchequer at the time of my death; and to assist my forenamed Executors in some reasonable and conscientious satisfaction of my creditors, and discharge of my legacies now specified; or that shall be hereafter added unto this my Testament, by any Codicil or Schedule, or left in the hands, or in any memorial with the aforesaid  
20 Mr. John Harrison.

" And first, to my most dear Sovereign and Master, of incomparable goodness (in whose gracious opinion I have ever had some portion, as far as the interest of a plain honest man), I leave four pictures at large of those Dukes of Venice, in whose time I was there employed, with their names written on the back side, which hang in my great ordinary dining-room, done after the life by Edoardo Fialetto. Likewise a table of the Venetian College, where Ambassadors had their audience, hanging over the mantel  
30 of the chimney in the said room, done by the same hand, which containeth a draught in little, well resembling the famous Duke Leonardo Donato, in a time which needed a wise and constant man. Item, the picture of a Duke of Venice, hanging over against the door, done either by Titiano, or some other principal hand, long before my time. Most humbly beseeching his Majesty that the said pieces

may remain in some corner of any of his houses, for a poor memorial of his most humble vassal.

" Item, I leave his said Majesty all the papers and negotiations of Sir Nich. Throgmorton, Knight, during his famous employment under Queen Elizabeth, in Scotland, and in France, which contain divers secrets of State, that perchance his Majesty will think fit to be preserved in his Paper-Office, after they have been perused and sorted by Mr. Secretary Windebank, with whom I have heretofore, as I remember, conferred about them. They were committed to my disposal by Sir Arthur Throgmorton, his son, to whose worthy memory I cannot better discharge my faith than by assigning them to the highest place of trust. Item, I leave to our most gracious and virtuous Queen Mary, Dioscorides, with the plants naturally coloured, and the text translated by Maithiolo, in the best language of Tuscany, whence her said Majesty is lineally descended, for a poor token of my thankful devotion, for the honour she was once pleased to do my private study with her presence. I leave to the most hopeful Prince the picture 20 of the elected and crowned Queen of Bohemia, his Aunt, of clear and resplendent virtues through the clouds of her fortune.

" To my Lord's Grace of Canterbury now being, I leave my picture of Divine Love, rarely copied from one in the King's galleries, of my presentation to his Majesty: beseeching him to receive it as a pledge of my humble reverence to his great wisdom. And to the most worthy Lord Bishop of London, Lord High Treasurer of England, in true admiration of his Christian simplicity and contempt of 30 earthly pomp, I leave a picture of Heraclitus bewailing, and Democritus laughing at the world: most humbly beseeching the said Lord Archbishop his Grace, and the Lord Bishop of London, of both whose favours I have tasted in my lifetime, to intercede with our most gracious Sovereign after my death, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that out of

compassionate memory of my long services (wherein I more studied the public honour than mine own utility) some order may be taken out of my arrears due in the Exchequer, for such satisfaction of my creditors as those whom I have ordained supervisors of this my last Will and Testament shall present unto their Lordships, without their farther trouble: hoping likewise in his Majesty's most indubitable goodness, that he will keep me from all prejudice, which I may otherwise suffer by any defect of formality in the  
10 demand of my said arrears.

" To — for a poor addition to his Cabinet I leave, as emblems of his attractive virtues, and obliging nobleness, my great loadstone, and a piece of amber, of both kinds naturally united, and only differing in degree of concoction, which is thought somewhat rare. Item, a piece of chrystral sexangular (as they grow all) grasping divers several things within it, which I bought among the Rhaetian Alps, in the very place where it grew: recommending most humbly unto his Lordship the reputation of my  
20 poor name in the point of my debts, as I have done to the forenamed Spiritual Lords; and am heartily sorry that I have no better token of my humble thankfulness to his honoured person. Item, I leave to Sir Francis Windebank, one of his Majesty's principal Secretaries of State (whom I found my great friend in point of necessity) the four Seasons of old Bassano, to hang near the eye in his parlour (being in little form), which I bought at Venice, where I first entered into his most worthy acquaintance.

30 " To the above-named Dr. Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, I leave all my Italian books not disposed in this Will. I leave to him likewise my Viol de Gamba, which hath been twice with me in Italy, in which country I first contracted with him an unremoveable affection. To my other supervisor, Mr. Nicholas Pey, I leave my chest, or cabinet of instruments and engines of all kinds of uses:

in the lower box<sup>1</sup> whereof are some fit to be bequeathed to none but so entire an honest man as he is. I leave him likewise forty pounds for his pains in the solicitation of my arrears, and am sorry that my ragged estate can reach no further to one that hath taken such care for me in the same kind, during all my foreign employments. To the Library at Eton College I leave all my Manuscripts not before disposed, and to each of the Fellows a plain ring of gold, enamelled black, all save the verge, with this Motto within, *Amor unit omnia.*

10

" This is my last Will and Testament, save what shall be added by a schedule thereunto annexed. Written on the first of October, in the present year of our Redemption, 1637. And subscribed by myself, with the testimony of these Witnesses.

HENRY WOTTON.

Nich. Oudert,  
Geo. Lash."

And now, because the mind of man is best satisfied by the knowledge of events, I think fit to declare that every one that was named in his Will did gladly receive their legacies: by which, and his most just and passionate desires for the payment of his debts, they joined in assisting the overseers of his Will; and by their joint endeavours to the King (than whom none was more willing) conscientious satisfaction was given for his just debts.

The next thing wherewith I shall acquaint the Reader is that he went usually once a year, if not oftener, to the beloved Bocton Hall, where he would say, " He found a cure for all cares, by the cheerful company, which he called the living furniture of that place: and a restoration of his strength, by the connaturalness of that which he called his genial air."

<sup>1</sup> In it were Italian locks, pick-locks, screws to force open doors, and many things of worth and rarity, that he had gathered in his foreign travel.

He yearly went also to Oxford. But the summer before his death he changed that for a journey to Winchester College, to which school he was first removed from Bocion. And, as he returned from Winchester towards Eton College, said to a friend, his companion in that journey: "How useful was that advice of a holy monk, who persuaded his friend to perform his customary devotions in a constant place, because in that place we usually meet with those very thoughts which possessed us at our last being there !  
10 And I find it thus far experimentally true, that at my now being in that school, and seeing that very place where I sat when I was a boy, occasioned me to remember those very thoughts of my youth which then possessed me: sweet thoughts indeed, that promised my growing years numerous pleasures, without mixtures of cares; and those to be enjoyed, when time (which I therefore thought slow-paced) had changed my youth into manhood. But age and experience have taught me that those were but empty hopes: for I have always found it true, as my Saviour did foretell,  
20 'Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof.' Nevertheless, I saw there a succession of boys using the same recreations, and, questionless, possessed with the same thoughts that then possessed me. Thus one generation succeeds another, both in their lives, recreations, hopes, fears, and death."

After his return from Winchester to Eton (which was about five months before his death) he became much more retired and contemplative: in which time he was often visited by Mr. John Hales (learned Mr. John Hales), then a Fellow of that College, to whom upon an occasion he  
30 spake to this purpose: "I have, in my passage to my grave, met with most of those joys of which a discursive soul is capable, and been entertained with more inferior pleasures than the sons of men are usually made partakers of: nevertheless, in this voyage I have not always floated on the calm sea of content; but have often met with cross winds and storms, and with many troubles of mind and

temptations to civil. And yet, though I have been, and am, a man compassed about with human frailties, Almighty God hath by his grace prevented me from making shipwreck of faith and a good conscience, the thought of which is now the joy of my heart, and I most humbly praise Him for it. And I humbly acknowledge that it was not myself but He that hath kept me to this great age, and let Him take the glory of His great mercy.—And, my dear friend, I now see that I draw near my harbour of death: that harbour that will secure me from all the future storms and waves <sup>10</sup> of this restless world; and I praise God I am willing to leave it, and expect a better, that world wherein dwelleth righteousness, and I long for it ! ”

These, and the like expressions, were then uttered by him at the beginning of a feverish distemper, at which time he was also troubled with an asthma, or short spitting; but after less than twenty fits, by the help of familiar physic and a spare diet, this fever abated, yet so as to leave him much weaker than it found him; and his asthma seemed also to be overcome in a good degree by <sup>20</sup> his forbearing tobacco, which, as many thoughtful men do, he also had taken somewhat immoderately. This was his then present condition, and thus he continued till about the end of October, 1639, which was about a month before his death, at which time he again fell into a fever, which though he seemed to recover, yet these still left him so weak that they, and those other common infirmities that accompany age, were wont to visit him like civil friends, and after some short time to leave him; came now both oftener and with more violence, and at last took up their <sup>30</sup> constant habitation with him, still weakening his body and abating his cheerfulness; of both which he grew more sensible, and did the oftener retire into his study, and there made many papers that had passed his pen, both in the days of his youth, and in the busy part of his life, useless, by a fire made there to that purpose.

These, and several unusual expressions to his servants and friends, seemed to foretell that the day of his death drew near; for which he seemed to those many friends that observed him to be well prepared, and to be both patient and free from all fear, as several of his letters writ on this his last sick-bed may testify. And thus he continued till about the beginning of December following, at which time he was seized more violently with a quotidian fever, in the tenth fit of which fever his better part, that part of Sir  
 10 Henry Wotton which could not die, put off mortality with as much content and cheerfulness as human frailty is capable of, being then in great tranquillity of mind, and in perfect peace with God and man.

And thus the circle of Sir Henry Wotton's life—that circle which began at Bocton, and in the circumference thereof did first touch at Winchester School, then at Oxford, and after upon so many remarkable parts and passages in Christendom—that circle of his Life was by Death thus closed up and completed, in the seventy and  
 20 second year of his age, at Eton College, where, according to his Will, he now lies buried, with his Motto on a plain Grave-stone over him; dying worthy of his name and family, worthy of the love and favour of so many Princes, and persons of eminent wisdom and learning, worthy of the trust committed unto him, for the service of his Prince and Country.

(And all Readers are requested to believe that he was worthy of a more worthy pen to have preserved his Memory, and commended his Merits to the imitation of  
 30 posterity.)

Iz. WA.

**AN ELEGY ON SIR HENRY WOTTON, WRIT BY MR. ABRAM COWLEY.**

What shall we say, since silent now is he,  
 Who when he spoke all things would silent be.  
 Who had so many languages in store,  
 That only Fame shall speak of him in more  
 Whom England now no more return'd must see,

He's gone to Heaven, on his fourth embassy?  
On earth he travel'd often, not to say  
He'd been abroad to pass loose time away;  
For, in whatever land he chanced to come,  
He read the men and manners bringing home  
Their Wisdom, Learning, and their Piety,  
As if he went to conquer, not to see  
So well he understood the most and best  
Of tongues that Babel sent into the West  
Spoke them so truly that he had (you'd swear)  
Not only liv'd, but been born everywhere  
Justly each nation's speech to him was known,  
Who for the world was made, not us alone  
Nor ought the language of that man be less,  
Who in his breast had all things to express  
We say that Learning's endless, and blame Fate  
For not allowing life a longer date  
He did the utmost bounds of Knowledge find,  
And found them not so large as was his mind,  
But, like the brave Pellean youth, did moan,  
Because that Ait had no more worlds than one.  
And when he saw that he through all had passed,  
He died—lest he should idle grow at last.

10

20

A. COWLEY



## NOTES

*References are made to the pages and lines of the text thus 1. 11  
means page 1 line 11*

1. 2 translated, &c removed to another place  
10 11 as when . . devils. see Luke viii 2

11 as when her wanton eyes, etc this is based on an erroneous identification of Mary Magdalene with the unnamed woman, "a sinner," who in the house of Simon the Pharisee anointed the feet of Jesus (Luke viii 37-9) as a result of this error Mary Magdalene came to be regarded as a type of the fallen woman who repents

The identification came to be made fairly late in the early Church, but though a chapter-heading to Luke viii in the Authorised Version continues it, since the sixteenth century it has been given up generally as groundless

19 And I do now consider it, etc the story of Mary Magdalene, as Walton knew it, embodied another erroneous identification, that with Mary of Bethany, sister of Lazarus and Martha. In an attempt to harmonise these identifications Mary was held to have repented of "her sensualities" on hearing of Christ's teaching, and the raising of Lazarus from the dead (John xi) confirmed her in her repentance. Mary of Bethany also anointed the feet of Jesus (John xii 3)

25-6 preserve his sacred body. see Mark xvi 1  
28 officious: "eager, diligent"

2 11 were. "was" a typical instance of the use of the subjunctive, now obsolete, in a conditional clause, cp 44 23

21 prevented "anticipated"

29 had long possessed it the Crown gave the Castle to the Herberts of Cherbury in the fifteenth century

3 2-3 laid level earth. Parliament gave orders for Montgomery Castle to be demolished in June 1649, the ruins still stand

7-8 the famous . . of Colebrook: a prominent Yorkist in the Wars of the Roses, he and his "memorable" brother were both captured by Lancastrians at Hedgecote, and executed in 1469

18 that excellent structure: the seat of the Newports at High Ercall

23 Job's number, etc Job 1 2.

30. Edward, the eldest: Lord Herbert of Cherbury (1583-1648) is remembered now chiefly for his *Autobiography* (first printed by Horace Walpole in 1764), and for his poetry, which is coming to be more highly appreciated. His *De Veritate* (1624) was a considerable philosophical work; his *History of Henry VIII.* marked an advance in the careful study of historical material.

31. our late Prince Henry: the eldest son of James I. (*d.* 1612); K.G., July 1603.

4. 6. comportment: "behaviour."

20. menial servant . . . Crown: *i.e.* a servant of the royal household: *menial* later depreciated from its original sense "domestic" to the present "servile, degrading."

22. Master of the Revels: this office first became a permanent one in 1545; to the duties of superintending Court entertainments (except masks, which were directly under the Lord Chamberlain's control) was added in Elizabeth's reign the function of censoring plays in general, but this censorship passed later into the hands of the Lord Chamberlain, one of whose duties it still is.

Sir Henry Herbert was Master of the Revels from 1623 to 1642, and resumed office again in 1660 at the Restoration.

26. against Algiers: the reference is to an unsuccessful expedition in 1620-1 against the pirates of Algiers.

36. then a widow: the poet's father died in 1596.

5. i. till about . . . twelve: *i.e.* till 1605.

2. Grammar: *i.e.* Latin grammar, English grammar being no part of the educational curriculum until a much later date.

3. Dr. Neale: Richard Neale (1562-1640), Dean of Westminster (1605), Archbishop of York (1631-40).

5-6. that school: Westminster School, in origin an ancient Almonry School attached to the Abbey; it was virtually re-founded by Elizabeth.

16-17. about . . . 1608: actually 1609.

20. Dr. Nevil: Thomas Nevil (*d.* 1615), Master of Trinity College, Cambridge (1593-1615), which he helped to rebuild.

35. then married, etc.: her second marriage was in 1608 to Sir John Danvers (1588?-1655), one of the Parliamentarians who signed the death warrant of Charles I. She was forty, he about twenty.

6. 7-9. remove . . . to Oxford: this was in 1598.

34. Mr. John Donne, etc.: Donne met Herbert's mother first in 1607, not so early as is implied here.

7. 2. writ . . . a character: *The autumnal* (Elegy IX) was written in the autumn of 1625. In addition to the Divine Poem quoted on p. 9, other poems of Donne connected with Magdalen Herbert are a

verse letter To Mrs. M[agdalén] H[erbert], and *The Pimrose, being at Montgomery Castle*, in which he speaks of his ideal of womanhood.

9-10. his printed poems: in his lifetime Donne's poems, except one or two, circulated only in manuscript; they were first printed in 1633.

16. St. Chrysostom: St. Chrysostom (*c.* 345-407), whose name means in Greek "golden-mouthed," was one of the greatest Fathers of the early Church. He was Archbishop of Constantinople until his fearless preaching against the Empress Eudoxia and her Court led to his expulsion. A Prayer of St. Chrysostom comes just before the end of Morning and Evening Prayer, and of the Litany in the Book of Common Prayer.

17. Olympias: a wealthy deaconess, who devoted herself to the Church, and was "the friend, entertainer, adviser of many of the most eminent ecclesiastics of the day." Chrysostom, after his exile from Constantinople, wrote several letters to her, expressing himself more fully to her than to others, and addressing her as "my lady, the most reverend and religious deaconess Olympias."

18. St. Hierome: St. Jerome (*c.* 340-420); Paula (*d.* 404) was a wealthy Roman lady who accompanied Jerome on a tour of Palestine, and built four monasteries at Bethlehem, in one of which Jerome spent his last years and produced the bulk of his writings.

24, 25. the fortieth year . . . Sacred Orders: Donne was thirty-four (see note to 68, 23); he was ordained in 1615.

8. 7. your St. Mary Magdalen, etc.: see Mark xvi. 1-2.

25. Bethina: *i.e.* Bethany; see note to 1. 19.  
jointure: "dowry."

Magdalo: *i.e.* Magdala, the supposed scene of Mary's sinful life.

28. the Resurrection: see Mark. xvi. 9.

35. the latter half: *i.e.* only the name Magdalen, and the example set after her repentance.

9. 12. her Funeral Sermon: she died in June 1627. The sermon was published in the same year, together with some verses by Herbert in Latin and Greek in memory of her.

24. those springs, etc.: *i.e.* the fountains Aganippe and Hippocrate upon Mount Helicon, a mountain in Boeotia sacred to the Muses, who had a temple there.

35. whole shoals of Martyrs: this humour in phrasing is typical of Herbert.

10. 11. that which . . . refuse: *i.e.* the body.  
chance: "come to."

17-18. to make . . . abuse: *i.e.* the poet who makes use of lilies and roses to describe a woman's cheeks is misusing what proclaims the glory of God.

27. in the seventeenth year: *i.e.* about 1610.

40. Bachelor . . . 1615: Walton's dates should be advanced to 1612, 1616.

11. 7. parts: "gifts," "talents."

21. Orator: the Public Orator is the official spokesman of the University, and his duties include the presentation of distinguished recipients of honorary degrees. The office was set up at Cambridge in 1522.

22. Sir Robert Naunton: Naunton (1563-1635), appointed Orator in 1594, made his way into Parliament, the Court, and diplomacy. In 1618 he was Secretary of State.

Sir Francis Nethersole: Nethersole (1587-1659) was appointed Orator in 1611.

25. the Lady Elizabeth: see note to 84. 20.

12. 1. Basilicon Doron: a book of advice as to the management of the clergy written for his son Prince Henry when he should become king.

6-7. Quid Vaticanam, etc.: "Stranger, why dost thou hold up as examples the Vatican and the Bodleian? We have a single book which is a (whole) library." The Bodleian library at Oxford, founded by Sir Thomas Bodley, had been opened in 1603.

8. conceits: *i.e.* fanciful expressions.

10. William, Earl of Pembroke: William Herbert, third Earl (1580-1630); he was a distant kinsman of the poet.

21. Andrew Melville: Andrew Melville (1545-1622), who, in addition to being a fierce Presbyterian, was a man of great learning and did valuable work for education at Glasgow and at St. Andrews, of which latter University he was Rector (1590-99).

27. the second year, etc.: the Hampton-Court conference was held in 1604 to discuss Puritan objections to the liturgy. Melville was not there; it was his behaviour in 1606 when summoned to London to discuss church matters that Walton has in mind.

18. 10-11. lost him . . . liberty: in 1607 Melville was deprived of the Principalship of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews—he had been deprived of his Rectorship in 1599; it was in 1607 that he was sent to the Tower "for a bitter epigram on Anglican ritual" (D.N.B.). He was released in 1611.

16. Lady Arabella: Arabella Stuart (1575-1615), daughter of Charles Stuart, Earl of Lennox, and after James I. next heir to the English throne. Her offence was her marriage to William Seymour, also of royal descent; imprisoned in 1611, she died in the Tower.

21-2. Causa tibi, etc.: *i.e.* a common cause of prison have you and I; yours your name declares (lovely altar)—mine is a holy altar. The pun on *ara bella* and *Arabella* cannot be rendered exactly.

25. Mr. Herbert's verses: satirical Latin verses written in his early years at Cambridge in reply to Melville's *Anti-Tam-Cam-Categoriam*.

26. Dr. Duport: James Duport (1606-79), Dean of Peterborough (1664), and Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge (1668). He published Herbert's verses, circulated only in manuscript at the time, in 1662.

32-3. to hunt . . . Royston: James I. "liked the company of the learned . . . but he also liked the boon companionship of the hunting-field" (D.N.B.). Scott, in *The Fortunes of Nigel* (Chap. 27), portrays James hunting in Greenwich Park. Horse-racing at Newmarket dates back to James I.'s day.

36. congratulations: *i.e.* speeches expressive of their rejoicing at the King's coming.

14. ro. Secretary of Nature: Bacon is so-called because of his great reputation as a scientist.

11. all learning: Bacon wrote in 1592: "I have taken all knowledge to be my province."

Lord Verulam: the title Bacon assumed when raised to the peerage in 1618. *Verulamium* was the name of the Roman city of St. Albans.

12. Dr. Andrews: Lancelot Andrewes (1555-1626), Bishop of Winchester (1619); he was one of the translators of the Authorised Version, and had a high reputation in his own day for his sermons (publ. 1631).

19. David's Psalms: translated by Bacon while ill in 1624, and published in 1625.

32. entire: "sincere."

15. 4. crux mihi anchora: *i.e.* the Cross is my anchor.

11. that me secure: *i.e.* and my faith keeps me secure.

14. as his predecessors: see note to 11. 22.

18. Court-conversation: *i.e.* life at Court.

27. advantage . . . college: *i.e.* the financial support derived from his Fellowship.

32. Thorndike: Herbert Thorndike (1598-1672), appointed Prebendary of Westminster in 1661; in the Civil War he was evicted from Cambridge by Parliament.

16. 12. a copy of verses: the stanzas quoted conclude the poem beginning—

"When first thou didst entice to thee my heart."

22. for: "because."

23. simpering: *i.e.* living a Court-life of elegance and flattery.

32. cross-bias me: *i.e.* make me take a path contrary to the one

I followed before; *bias* is a term from the game of bowls, in which it is applied to the oblique course the wood takes.

17. 8. in the time . . . expectation: *i.e.* while he was awaiting, and on the look-out for.

12-13. Lodowick, Duke of Richmond: Ludovick Stuart, Duke of Lennox (1574-1624).

James, Marquis of Hamilton: he died in March 1625, three weeks before the King.

18. 12-16. for I find, etc.: an instance of Walton's personal research; cp. 86. 2-3.

15-16. John . . . see: John Williams (1582-1650), Archbishop of York, 1641-50.

33. a costly mosaic: Walton is wrong here. He apparently mis-read Oley, who referred to Herbert's poems *The Temple* as "that costly piece of Mosaic."

19. 15. simony: "traffic in church offices," a term derived from Simon Magus, who "offered money" to the Apostles for power to confer the gift of the Holy Ghost, Acts viii. 18.

30. by: *i.e.* as the result of.

32-3. James, Duke of Lenox: nephew of Ludovick, Duke of Richmond, and a close kinsman of the King. He was then only fifteen.

his brother: see 4. 19 and note to 4. 22.

20. 5. Woodnot: Arthur Woodnoth (1590?-1650?) was cousin to Nicholas Ferrar, and like him interested in the Virginia Company. He supplied Walton with details of Herbert's life.

21. 1. my employment . . . here: *i.e.* his office of Orator at Cambridge.

2. Commencement: Commencement at Cambridge is the day towards the end of the academic year when the degrees of Master and Doctor are conferred.

8-9. what . . . for a moment: *i.e.* affliction is only temporary.

18, 19. divide . . . not that: apparently Herbert means that his mother's letter, though she recognises the distinction between earthly and heavenly preferment, implies that one can make the best of both worlds. The reference to "college customs" is therefore to the Cambridge term "division," which means the dividing the term into two halves. Herbert humorously points out that one cannot be in the two halves of the term at once.

22. snarles: "knots, tangles."

bottom . . . wound up: this metaphor continues the preceding simile. A *bottom* was "a clew or nucleus on which to wind thread: a skein or ball of thread" (N.E.D.).

26. offices: "duties."

22. 24. Goliath-like: *i.e.* very great; see 1 Samuel xvii. 4.  
That God, etc.: 1 Samuel xvii. 37.

23. 4. intend: *i.e.* apply ourselves to.

21. About the year 1629: it was 1628 that the poet spent at Woodford.

22. quotidian: "recurring daily."

24. 14. Lord Danvers: Henry Danvers, Earl of Danby (1573-1644), brother of the poet's step-father (5. 35 and note). Herbert wrote a verse epitaph upon him.

27-8. presently declined it: he resigned in 1627.  
presently: "at once," the usual sense in Walton, as in Shakespeare.

29. Creighton: Creighton, having earlier been Dean of Wells, in which office he restored Wells Cathedral, was appointed Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1670.

25. 19. a Platonic: *i.e.* one whose love is wholly spiritual. The word was in common use in the middle of the seventeenth century, e.g. Davenant's play *The Platonic Lovers* (1636).

22. their meeting: *i.e.* at Daunissey.

30. the third day: 5th March, 1629.

26. 24. without seeking: *i.e.* without Herbert's having asked for the living.

28. the cure of . . . souls: "cure" is used in the sense of "a spiritual charge."

27. 18. gave him institution: *i.e.* inducted him into the living.

29. St. Chrysostom: see note to 7. 16.

28. 3-4. I have . . . to inform myself: chief among Herbert's sources were the short sketches by Ferrar and Oley, from which he took anecdotes.

9. the Law: *i.e.* the Canon Law, the law of the Church.

30. 12. serviceable: "willing to be of service."

13. conversed: *i.e.* had dealings with.

31. 7. David's blessed man: "Blessed is the man that . . . sitteth [not] in the seat of the scornful" (Psalms i. 1).

35. decently: "fittingly."

32. 10. Ember-week: Ember-weeks are those in which occur Ember-days, a three-day period of fasting. There are four Ember-weeks in a year, one in each season.

13. Henchman: Humphrey Henchman (1592-1675), Bishop of London, 1663-75. He was canon and precentor of Salisbury at this time.

25. **The Country Parson:** *A Priest to the Temple, or The Country Parson, his character, and rule of holy life* was first printed in 1652 by Oley, who prefixed a Life of Herbert.

33. 3. wants it: "is without it."

5. convince him: *i.e.* give him a conviction (of his error).

8. **Barnabas Oley:** a royalist clergyman, Fellow and President of Clare College, Cambridge, the place of which college he took to Charles I at Nottingham in 1642.

12. Proverbs: the text is from iv. 23.

16 florid: "ornate"; not in the modern disparaging sense.

34. Collect: *i.e.* short prayer.

34. 9. capable of: *i.e.* in a proper state to receive.

21. Lauds: "the first of the day-hours of the Church, the Psalms of which always end with Psalms cxlviii.-cl." (N.E.D.).

35. 2. with the Blessed Virgin: *i.e.* in the Magnificat (Luke i. 46-55).

5. with Simeon: *i.e.* in the Nunc Dimittis (Luke ii. 29-32).

19. He that praiseth, etc.: "whoso offereth me thanks and praise, he honoureth me" (Psalms l. 23, Prayer Book Version).

30. as Zacharias did: Luke i. 68. Zacharias was the father of John the Baptist.

36. 6. gratulations: "rejoicing," "thankfulness."

37. 23. **Hooker:** Richard Hooker (1554? - 1600), whose monumental *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity* (1594-7), arising from a dispute with Travers, a hot Puritan, is a systematic investigation and defence of the principles of the Church of England, and shows Elizabethan scholarly prose at its best. See Introduction, pp. xx., xxi., xxii.

29. year is . . . March: *i.e.* the Christian year as arranged for religious observance in the Church; it now begins with the first Sunday in Advent.

31-3. she should . . . mankind: a free quotation; see Matthew i. 20-21, and Luke i. 31.

38. 2. Twelfth-day: the twelfth day after Christmas (Jan. 6), on which the festival of the Epiphany is celebrated; see Matthew ii. 1-11.

17. condole: *i.e.* express our grief for.

27. that though he left, etc.: as told in Acts ii. On Whitsunday the Church commemorates the gift of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost. Whitsunday takes its name (White Sunday) probably from the white robes which, by old custom, the newly-baptized wore on that day.

33. occasional: *i.e.* on particular occasions.

39. 1. Ember-weeks: see note to 32. 10.

40. 4. like Joshua: Walton apparently has in mind: "as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord" (*Joshua xxiv. 15*).

8. meaner sort: *i.e.* poorer people.

10. Saints-bell: a bell (also known as *Sanctus bell*) rung at the *Sanctus* at Mass; after the Reformation it was used to call the people to church.

31. his love to music, etc.: see his poem *Church-Music*, beginning:  
 "Sweetest of sweets, I thank you: when displeasure  
 Did through my body wound my mind,  
 You took me thence."

41. 7. accidents: "occurrences."

27. occasion: "opportunity."

42. 11. Dr. Lake: Arthur Lake (1569-1626), consecrated Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1616. Walton's tribute is typical of the esteem in which he was held. He says of him again in his *Life of Sanderson*: "I take myself bound in justice to say that he made the great trust committed to him the chief care and whole business of his life."

21. present: "immediate."

25. the Good Samaritan: Luke i. 30.

43. 9-12. our blessed Saviour . . . Emmaus: Luke xxiv. 13-53.

44. 3. being: "since": a shortening of *it being that*; cp. 1. 8.

10. my tithes, etc.: Mr. John Butt (*Essays and Studies*, Vol. XIX.) suggests that we have here an instance of Walton's using a thought found in Herbert's poetry in order to put into Herbert's mouth words very unlikely to have been actually remembered. In *The Church-Porch* occurs the line "Restore to God his due in tithe and time."

deodate: a gift from God, as from a *deo datum*.

45. 2. Fulston: *i.e.* Fugglestone.

7. Mr. Farrer: Nicholas Ferrar (as his name is generally given), after being fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge (1610), was interested in the Virginia Company, and an M.P. He retired to Little Gidding in 1625, was ordained Deacon in 1626, and died in 1637.

The Anglican community of Little Gidding (which was broken up by the Parliament in 1647) is described with charm and sympathy in *John Inglesant* (1881), a romance by J. H. Shorthouse. Book-binding was an occupation of the society. Charles I. visited it in 1642.

11. Friar Barnet: *i.e.* Friern Barnet, of which Duncon was rector, 1663-73.

13. wanted not: *i.e.* had.

47. 19. serviceable: "willing to serve."

48. 6. a watch-bell: *i.e.* a bell rung to rouse them at a certain hour.

49. 2. domestic family: *i.e.* those belonging to the household.

8. his death . . . 1639: 1639 should be 1637.

16-17. Considerations of John Valdesso: Juan de Valdes (*c.* 1500-41), a Spanish religious writer; *Valdesso* is an Italianising of his name. His *Hundred and Ten Considerations . . . of those things . . . most perfect in our Christian profession* was published by Ferrar with Herbert's notes in 1638. As Valdes died some fifteen years before Charles V. went into retirement, the conclusion at least of Walton's story (50. 15-19) cannot be true

19. censured: "criticised," "judged."

26. Charles the Fifth: see 89. 6 and note.

50. 14. pretended: "claimed."

16-17. Philip out of England: Philip II. of Spain, husband of Queen Mary of England; it was he who sent the Armada (1588) against England.

51. 14. whose service . . . freedom: quoted from the second collect in Morning Prayer.

28. to Cambridge: *The Temple* was published by the University Press in 1633, first, about three weeks after Herbert's death, in an edition for private circulation, and again in the same year in an edition for public circulation. The next fifty years saw nine more editions.

29. the Vice-Chancellor, etc.: starting with the Pilgrim Fathers, who sailed to America in the *Mayflower* in 1620, there began an emigration to the West of Puritans whose aim was to settle in America so that they could be free to worship and hold their faith unmolested. The objection to Herbert's verses was probably based on a fear that they might be taken to contain prophetic approval of this.

31-2. Religion stands, etc.: lines from *The Church Militant*.

34. want them: *i.e.* be without them.

52. 22. conversation: *i.e.* company.

26. with Job: "I have made my bed in the darkness" (Job. xvii. 13).

30. die daily: *i.e.* not to die in the flesh, but as a sinner, to be re-born daily in the love of Christ.

58. 18. The Sundays, etc.: a stanza from Herbert's own poem *Sunday in The Temple*.

20-1. the wife . . . King: *i.e.* the bride of Christ (the Church): see Revelation xxii. 17.

31. period: "end."

34. re-edifying: "rebuilding."

54. ro. a sudden passion: i.e. of strong emotion, not anger.

24 my last Will: unlike Wotton's Will, Herbert's is a dry document lacking personal interest, and so Walton does not quote from it.

55. 4. attending: "waiting for."

5. unspotted of the world: quoted from James i. 27.

8. this borrowed observation: Walton adapts from the lyric "The glories of our blood and state" in the *Contention of Ajax and Ulysses* by the dramatist James Shirley (1596-1666) the lines:

Your heads must come  
To the cold tomb:  
Only the actions of the just  
Smell sweet and blossom in their dust.

14. Andrew Melvin: see 12. 21 and note.

26-7. like holy Mary, etc.: Luke ii. 19.

30. O that I, etc.: 2 Samuel xviii. 33, the conclusion of one of the finest passages in the Authorised Version.

57. 4. Boughton Malherbe: the parish lies some ten miles south-east of Maidstone. The name *Boughton* signifies a town or parish (town) held by charter (*boc*); the name *Malherbe* was added by the family which owned it after the Norman Conquest.

14. so long inhabited the one: the first Wotton to own the manor of Boughton Malherbe was Nicholas Wotton (1372-1448), a member of the Drapers' Company, and twice Lord Mayor of London. He acquired it by his marriage with the heiress to it.

58. 6. indifferent Reader: i.e. impartial, fair-minded reader.

9. Sir Robert Wotton: grandson of Nicholas Wotton (see note 57. 14); he was born in 1465, not 1460.

12. Knight Porter: a porter was one in charge of the gates of a fortified town. Calais was taken by Edward III. in 1347, and held by England until 1558, when it fell to the Duke of Guise.

14. Sir Edward Wotton: Edward Wotton (1489-1551) was nominated by Henry VIII. one of his executors and a privy councillor to Edward VI. His service on many Commissions is typical of the public spirit of the Wottons praised by Walton.

17. Treasurer of Calais: this office was revived for Sir Edward by Henry VIII. in 1540.

19. Holinshed: Raphael Holinshed (*d.* 1580), author of the *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577, enlarged 1586), the popular Elizabethan history used by Shakespeare as the source of several of his plays.

Professor A. F. Pollard regards it as improbable that Wotton was offered the office of Lord Chancellor.

21. Thomas Wotton: the *Dicty. Nat. Biog.* says of him: "for nearly thirty years he was regularly included in the various commissions for the county, such as those for the peace, for taking masters, gaol delivery, examining into cases of piracy, and fortifying Dover." He was twice sheriff of Kent, and died in 1587.

25. Liberal Arts: a medieval term applied to grammar, logic, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy—the *trivium* and *quadrivium* of medieval learning; it broadened in meaning as the medieval technical sense became obsolete.

28. ancient interest: i.e. the rights and privileges established by his predecessors.

31. a knighthood: the offer was in July 1573.

35. ancient freedom: i.e. deep-rooted independence.

59. 4. ingenuity: i.e. honourable and highminded conduct.

10. Lambarde: William Lambarde (1536-1601) dedicated his *Perambulation of Kent* to Wotton, and Wotton wrote a prefatory letter for it (1576). It is the earliest known county history.

14. Sir Edward: Edward Wotton (1548-1626), in addition to his diplomatic work, devoted himself, like other Wottons, to service in Kent.

15. Comptroller of Her Majesty's Household: the word *comptroller* (an erroneous spelling of *controller* arising about 1500 and kept in some official titles) derives from French: O.Fr. *contreroller* meant "to keep a copy of" (and so, "to check") "an account." The duties of this officer thus came to be those of treasurer and steward of the royal household.

16. Camden: William Camden (1551-1623), antiquary and historian, and headmaster of Westminster School. His chief work is *Britannia* (1586), written in Latin, a piece of deep research inspired by love of England. His other work includes *Annales . . . regnante Elizabetha*.

23. Sir James: he died in 1628.

28. the field near Cadiz: in 1596 the threat of a second Spanish Armada was countered by an expedition under the Earl of Essex, which destroyed the Spanish ships in Cadiz harbour, and then plundered and burnt the town.

32. Sir John: John Wotton contributed two poems to *England's Helicon* (1600).

60. 10. Nicholas Wotton: Nicholas Wotton (1497?-1567) was "one of the ablest and most experienced of Tudor diplomats" (D.N.B.). He was appointed Dean of Canterbury in 1541, and Dean of York in 1544, and then held both deaneries together.

29-30. refused . . . to be Archbishop: the Archbispopric seems to

have been offered him at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. Wotton, says the D.N.B., "had a rooted aversion to bishoprics," and, being offered the bishopric of Hereford in 1530, wrote to a friend: "for the passion of God, if it be possible yet, assay as far as you may to convey this bishopric from me."

32. dissolution of Abbeys: the Act of Supremacy (1534) declaring Henry VIII. Head of the Church of England was followed by the suppression and spoliation of the abbeys and monasteries. "Something like a fifth of the actual land in the kingdom was in this way transferred from the holding of the Church to that of nobles and gentry" (J. R. Green).

61. 8. some years are now past: Walton was writing some ten years after Wotton's death.

11. some that still live: Sir Edward Bysshe (1615?-1679) was appointed Clarencieux (a heraldic officer) in 1661; Charles Cotton (1630-1687) wrote a second part of Walton's *Complete Angler* (1676), produced a standard translation of Montaigne's *Essays* (1685), and wrote some poetry; Nicholas Oudert (or Oudart) came from Brabant with Sir Henry Wotton, and from 1666-1681 was Latin secretary to Charles II.

20. Sir John Rudstone: a lord mayor of London.

32. Westminster-Hall: the Hall of Westminster Palace, the seat of the Courts of Law until the opening of the present Law Courts in 1881. All the Palace except the Hall was burnt down in 1834; the Hall is preserved in the present Houses of Parliament, finished in 1867.

62. 2. comportment: "bearing, behaviour."

10. a concurrence . . . accidents: i.e. she had the defects of all "three sorts of persons" named by Wotton (81. 27-31). *Accident* is a philosophical term meaning "a non-essential property" of a thing.

15. Henry his youngest son: Henry Wotton was born in 1568.

32. at a fit age: in June 1584, when he was sixteen.

33. Commoner: a term used at Oxford and Cambridge to denote a student not a scholar or exhibitioner of his college.

34. William Wickham: William of Wykeham (1324-1404), Bishop of Winchester, 1367-1404, and twice Chancellor of England. New College was built by 1386, and Winchester school by 1394-5.

63. 3. Tragedy of Tancredo: this play is lost; it was "apparently based on Tasso's recently published *Gerusalemme Liberata*" (D.N.B.).

4. sentences: aphorisms, pointed sayings.

5. humours: i.e. particular traits of character. The comedies of Ben Jonson satirised such traits, as in *Every Man in his Humour* (1598).

11. Baptista Guarini: Giovanni Battista Guarini (1537-1612), a

diplomat in the service of the Duke of Ferrara until he retired and devoted himself to poetry. His *Pastor Fido* (1590) is a pastoral drama whose reflection of contemporary Italian taste "made it the code of gallantry for the next two centuries" (*Encycl. Brit.*).

18. curious composure: i.e. delicate and careful construction: cp. the use of *curious* in the sense "skillfully wrought" in the A V., e.g. "the curious girdle of the ephod." The ordinary modern sense dates from the early eighteenth century.

64. 6. moralise: "point the moral of."

11. Albericus Gentilis: Alberico Gentili (1552-1608), a notable writer on law, who left Italy because of his heretical opinions, and was in 1587 appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford.

12. Henrice mi Ocello: "Henry, the apple of my eye," with a punning reference to his work on optics, and to the fact that his observations provided, as it were, fresh powers of vision.

17. the year after, etc.: i.e. 1587.

23. an hundred marks: £66 13s. 4d., a mark being equivalent to 13s. 4d.

65. 2. senseless paraphrase: i.e. a meaningless reproduction of.

13. that of Pharoah: Pharaoh first dreamed of seven well-favoured and fat-fleshed kine which were eaten up by seven ill-favoured and lean-fleshed kine: then he dreamed a second time that seven ears of good corn were swallowed up by seven thin ears (see Genesis xli.).

19. St. Austin: St. Augustine (354-430), Bishop of Hippo, from whose *Confessions* Walton here quotes.

25. discovered: "revealed."

34-5. his commitment . . . prison: in January 1554 he was committed to the Fleet "for obstinate standing against matters of religion."

66. 6. at this time, etc.: Mary married Philip of Spain in July 1554, but, as soon as the forthcoming marriage was officially announced on 15 January, 1554, Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Duke of Suffolk, and others determined upon a rebellion. Wyatt, son of Sir Thomas Wyatt the poor, attempted to raise Kent and marched on London, but his revolt failed and he was executed in April 1554.

Lady Jane Grey, daughter of the Duke of Suffolk, who had been proclaimed queen in 1553 as part of a previous rebellion, was among those executed after Wyatt's rising.

32. actually: i.e. in fact, as distinct from possibility.

67. 3. considerable: "worthy of consideration"; so also in 1. 25.

9. discovering: "revealing."

23-4. without . . . casting a figure: i.e. without any expenditure.

68. 12. connaturalness: i.e. natural bent.

16. sciences: i.e. branches of knowledge, not necessarily sciences in the modern sense.

23. Dr. Donne: the poet John Donne (1572-1631), the greatest of the metaphysical poets both in his love and his religious poetry. He was appointed Dean of St. Paul's in 1621, and was famous for his sermons. He entered Oxford in 1584, when only twelve, an early age even for that time and so precocious a genius.

24. I shall forbear, etc.: moreover Walton had published his *Life of Donne* in 1640.

26. pretends to: i.e. claims to have.  
ingenuity: "intellectual ability."

29. generously elemented: i.e. that had as its elements or basis excellent qualities in both.

31. correspondent inclinations: "similar bents"

69. to. in his travels: Wotton left England in 1588 and returned in 1595.

12. Geneva: Wotton reached Geneva in 1593.

13. Beza: Theodore Beza (1519-1605) was Calvin's colleague and successor in the Protestant reform movement. He became Professor of theology at Geneva in 1559, and in 1564 succeeded Calvin as ruler of Geneva.

Isaac Casaubon: Casaubon (1559-1614), the famous classical scholar, who produced valuable editions of many of the classical writers. At the time of Wotton's visit he was Professor of Greek at Geneva. He later came to England, where he had the patronage of James I., and was made Prebendary of Canterbury. His son was a friend of Walton's.

36. Robert, Earl of Essex: Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex (1566-1601), became a favourite of Queen Elizabeth's in 1587. His failure in Ireland in 1599 led to his disgrace, and rebellious conduct, which ended in his execution on a charge of treason. While abroad Wotton apparently sent foreign news to Essex, and very soon after his return in 1595 entered into Essex' service.

70. 4. Henry Cuffe: Cuffe (1563-1601) was a scholar who turned politician. The "fatalness of his end" was his execution for active complicity in the treasonable plot of Essex and his friends in 1600 to rouse London against the Government.

12-13. two voyages . . . Spaniard: the expedition against Cadiz in 1596 in which his half-brother, Sir James, took part (see 59. 28 and note), and the unsuccessful expedition to the Azores in 1597.

13-14. that . . . into Ireland: in 1599 Essex was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland with instructions to suppress Tyrone's rebellion, but he mishandled affairs, made a truce with Tyrone, returned abruptly, and was put under arrest.

19. his commitment to the Tower: this was in February 1601, his plot (see note to 70. 4) coming to nothing at the very start.

25. take in . . . circumstances: *i.e.* even take into consideration what can be only indirectly deduced; cp. the phrase "circumstantial evidence."

71. 2. divers other persons: among them were Sir Christopher Blount and Sir Charles Davers.

11. Florence: then capital of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany under the Medicis. When Milton visited Florence in 1638 he frequented the Florentine academies.

18. the English College: *i.e.* the Roman Catholic seminary to which Englishmen went to train for the priesthood.

22. curiosities: *i.e.* matters in which he was interested.

30-31. never willing . . . successor: "with perfect statecraft, Elizabeth maintained her reign-long silence on the succession question . . . 'although she herself harboured no doubts as to who should succeed her'" (*i.e.* James I.) (Prof. J. E. Neale).

72. 5. the Pope's excommunication: Pope Pius V. excommunicated Elizabeth in 1570.

7. Jesuited Papist: a Protestant term implying one corrupted by Jesuit principles, *i.e.* casuistical.

9. a secular priest: *i.e.* one not belonging to a religious or monastic order.

The reference is to William Watson (1559? - 1603), who, although hunted by the authorities in England, was opposed to Roman Catholic plots against England, and a bitter foe of the Jesuits. He was often imprisoned, and was executed for treason, having confessed to sharing in a plot against James I. Walton refers to his *Decadon of Ten Quodlibetical Questions concerning Religion and State* (1601), written against the Jesuits.

16. discovered: "revealed."

74. 7. Sir Edward: refer to 59, 14 and note.

8. of the House: *i.e.* of his Majesty's Household.

30. those . . . years of his reign: James I. reigned from 1603 to 1625.

33. knighted him: this was in 1603.

35. Beati pacifici: "blessed (are) the peace-makers."

75. 16. left England: in July 1604.

26. Sir Albertus Morton: Morton (1584? - 1625) was a son of a half-brother of Henry Wotton; he was knighted in 1617, and in 1624 was ambassador to France. See further on pp. 93-4.

27. William Bedel: Bedell (1571-1642) held the living of St. Mary's, Bury St. Edmunds at the time of Wotton's departure, and did not become his chaplain until 1607, remaining with him till 1610. In 1629 he became Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh in Ireland. See pp. 95-7.

26. this following letter: three other verse letters of Donne to Wotton are extant.

30. those reverend papers: *i.e.* the letter containing Wotton's credentials as Ambassador. The point of the successive metaphors (lines 34-7), a style typical of Donne, is that Wotton as ambassador is the King's representative.

36-7. though it . . . stream: *i.e.* since Wotton as ambassador in Venice will represent the king in person, he is like a ray of the sun sharing the essential quality (*virtue*) of the source from which his authority issues.

76. 16. Wanting it: *i.e.* when you had not yet won fortune.

18-19. for we are . . . business: *i.e.* when we are not in a great position, we can attend solely to our own business.

22. furnace: the metaphor is from refining metals.

23-4. fits them . . . degree: *i.e.* enables Wotton to make the best use of his abilities, now that he has already had the training gained elsewhere

76. 39. Leonardo Donato: Duke, or, more correctly, Doge of Venice. *Doge* is a variation of Italian *duce*, both deriving from Latin *dux*.

77. 3. wanted: "done without."

4. Clement the Eighth: Pope from 1592 to 1605.

11. Civil Magistrate: *i.e.* the Doge, the head of the Venetian Republic.

17. pretended: *i.e.* claimed.

78. 1. Council of Trent: this Council sat from 1545 to 1563 in order to reform the doctrine and discipline of the Roman Catholic Church in an effort to counteract the effects of the Protestant Reformation.

2. politic: *i.e.* due to policy.

17. Paul the Fifth: Paul V. was Pope from 1605 to 1621. His policy was to exercise papal authority to the full, and the resolution with which Venice withheld his claims is one of the most notable features of the last centuries of the Republic. He excommunicated Venice in 1606. The dispute was settled in 1607.

18. not immediately: between Clement VIII, and Paul V. came Leo XI., Pope for only twenty-seven days.

35. capable of: *i.e.* in a fit state to receive.

79. 9. Council of Ten: originally set up as a "committee of safety" this body sat in secret, its functions resembling in some ways those of the Star Chamber in England.

16. libels: "pamphlets"; *libel* is a diminutive from *liber*, a book. The modern sense arises from a shortening of *libelus famosus*, a term in Law Latin.

18. Father Paul: Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), Venetian scholar and patriot; in 1606 he was appointed theological counsellor to the Republic, and wrote and directed pamphlets against Rome. Wotton had a portrait of him painted, which he sent to the Provost of King's College, Cambridge.

30. 13. careless: *i.e.* regardless of the consequences.

acquainting King James: James I. was interested in the dispute, because the Pope had forbidden Roman Catholics to take the new oath of allegiance prescribed by Parliament after the Gunpowder Plot (1605).

31. which history, etc.: Sarpi's history was printed in London in 1619, when Abbot was Archbishop of Canterbury.

36. the universal language: *i.e.* Latin. Bacon, doubting whether books written in modern languages would live, translated even his *Essays* into Latin. He wrote: "I do conceive that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last" (Dedication to *Essays* in 1625).

81. 6. Augusta: *i.e.* Augsburg, an ancient city of Bavaria named after the Roman Emperor Augustus, who set up a Roman colony there in 14 B.C.

8. ingeniousness: *i.e.* intellectual abilities.

11. Albo: *i.e.* album, a book for autographs, etc. *Albo* is a shortening of Latin *in albo* (white).

25. conceit: *i.e.* play upon words.

not . . . in Latin: the Latin *ad nientiendum* conveys the sense only of telling a lie.

30. Scioppius: this Roman Catholic controversial writer published his attack on James I.'s theology entitled *Ecclesiasticus*, containing the reference to this "conceit" of Wotton's, in 1611.

82. 5. one to Velserus: "Marcus Walser, a burgomaster of Augsburg and patron of Scioppius . . . it was a vituperative assault on Scioppius" (D.N.B.).

20. Dr. Donne . . . in a Will: Walton refers to Donne's poem *The Will* ("Before I sigh my last gasp"), and in particular to the lines:

"I give my reputation to those  
Which were my friends; mine industry to foes."

conceits: *i.e.* fanciful poetic images.

31. his employment in Italy: Wotton returned to England from Venice in 1611, and was not sent to Venice again until 1616, when he stayed four years. His last period there was from 1621 to 1624. This makes some sixteen years in Venice rather than the "almost twenty years" given by Walton. In the intervals he was employed on diplomatic business in France (1612), at The Hague (1614), and at Vienna (1620).

83. 7. fine sorting: *i.e.* discriminating choice.  
curious: *i.e.* skilfully and artistically devised.

28. generals: *i.e.* general statements.

32-3. to serve . . . against the Turk: after the fall of Constantinople in 1453 Venice, because of her trade and her possessions in the Near East, was engaged for nearly two hundred years in intermittent warfare with the Turks, in which the Venetian victory of Lepanto (1571) is the most famous incident.

36. enlargement: "release"

84. 16, 17. Ambassador to . . . German Princes: here Wotton is referring to the early years of the complicated struggle known as the Thirty Years' War (1618-48). It was in 1619 that Wotton was at Heilbronn (see 86, 19), and in 1620 at Vienna to consult the Emperor Ferdinand II.

20. the Queen of Bohemia: the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of James I., who in 1613 married Frederick V., Elector Palatine. The Bohemians in 1619, seeing that Ferdinand II. intended to deprive them of the privileges granted to the Protestants by his predecessor Rudolf II., elected her husband king of Bohemia in place of Ferdinand. Frederick, however, as the result of a battle in 1620 (see 84, 28) lost both his Palatinate and the throne of Bohemia. Wotton wrote one of his best-known poems to the Queen. Her favourite son was the famous Prince Rupert of the Civil War, and she was grandmother of George I.

28. managing: *i.e.* conduct of military operations.

85. 10 manage: *i.e.* negotiations.

86. 12. Henricus Wottonicus, etc.: Henry Wotton, an Englishman of Kent, youngest son of the excellent Thomas, knighted by the most illustrious [prince] James I., King of Great Britain, and thrice his ambassador to the Republic of Venice; ambassador extraordinary once to the representatives of the United Provinces in the affair of Jülich, twice to Charles Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, once to the Union of Princes of Southern Germany at the Congress of Heilbronn, and lastly to the Archduke Leopold, Duke of Wittenburg, to the Imperial Citizens, to Strasbourg, Ulm, and the Roman Emperor Ferdinand II. himself, has at length learnt this: "the mind grows in wisdom when it is at peace."

The affair of Jülich was a dispute as to the succession to the duchies of Jülich, Cleves, and Berg, and was settled in 1614.

24. to London . . . died: *i.e.* in 1624.

27. present: *i.e.* ready, from the sense "immediate," as usual in Walton.

29. Master of the Rolls: the holder of one of the highest judicial offices.

30. Sir Julius Caesar: Julius Caesar (1558-1636), son of an Italian physician to Mary, and to Elizabeth, after holding several legal

18. Father Paul: Paolo Sarpi (1552-1623), Venetian scholar and patriot; in 1606 he was appointed theological counsellor to the Republic, and wrote and directed pamphlets against Rome. Wotton had a portrait of him painted, which he sent to the Provost of King's College, Cambridge.

80. 13. careless: *i.e.* regardless of the consequences.

acquainting King James: James I. was interested in the dispute, because the Pope had forbidden Roman Catholics to take the new oath of allegiance prescribed by Parliament after the Gunpowder Plot (1605).

31. which history, etc.: Sarpi's history was printed in London in 1619, when Abbot was Archbishop of Canterbury.

36. the universal language: *i.e.* Latin. Bacon, doubting whether books written in modern languages would live, translated even his *Essays* into Latin. He wrote: "I do conceive that the Latin volume of them (being in the universal language) may last as long as books last" (Dedication to *Essays* in 1625).

81. 6. Augusta: *i.e.* Augsburg, an ancient city of Bavaria named after the Roman Emperor Augustus, who set up a Roman colony there in 14 B.C.

8. ingeniousness: *i.e.* intellectual abilities.

11. Albo: *i.e.* album, a book for autographs, etc. *Albo* is a shortening of Latin *in albo* (white).

25. conceit: *i.e.* play upon words.

not . . . in Latin: the Latin *ad mentiendum* conveys the sense only of telling a lie.

30. Scioppius: this Roman Catholic controversial writer published his attack on James I.'s theology entitled *Ecclesiasticus*, containing the reference to this "conceit" of Wotton's, in 1611.

82. 5. one to Velserus: "Marcus Walser, a burgomaster of Augsburg and patron of Scioppius . . . it was a vituperative assault on Scioppius" (D.N.B.).

20. Dr. Donne . . . in a Will: Walton refers to Donne's poem *The Will* ("Before I sigh my last gasp"), and in particular to the lines:

"I give my reputation to those  
Which were my friends; mine industry to foes."

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offices became Master of the Rolls, 1614-36. Fuller called him: "a person of prodigious bounty to all of worth or want, so that he might seem to be almoner-general of the nation."

87. 6. part of his condition: *i.e.* characteristic of his disposition.

9. Sir Philip Sidney: Philip Sidney (1554-86), poet, novelist, critic, soldier, diplomatist, who fulfilled the Elizabethan conception of chivalry.

10. it was . . . congruity: *i.e.* it exactly corresponded with the circumstances.

11. our Saviour's words: Matthew vi. 34.

14. the Provostship: *i.e.* the office of headmaster. The title *Provost* is a survival from ecclesiastical usage equivalent to *Prior*.

his Majesty's College of Eton: Eton College is of royal foundation, having been founded by Henry VI. in 1440.

15. Mr. Thomas Murray: he was Provost of Eton only from 1622 to 1623.

16, 17. many . . . suitors: among them were Sir Albertus Morton, Wotton's nephew (see 75, 20 and note), and Viscount St. Albans (Sir Francis Bacon), who had been removed from the office of Lord Chancellor in 1621 on a charge of corruption, and was in retirement.

18. Sisyphus: a king of Corinth whose punishment in the Lower World was to roll up a hill a large stone which, as soon as it reached the top, rolled back, and so made his labour endless.

28. got a grant of it: Wotton entered into the provostship in July, 1624.

32. attend removes: *i.e.* are entailed by moving house.

88. 15. "Invidiae remedium": "the cure of jealousy."

22. the pious Founder: Henry VI., more fitted to be a saint than a king; he also founded King's College, Cambridge.

24. more money than enough: the income was only £100. His will still complains of his "ragged estate."

29. Sir William Davenant: William Davenant (1606-68), poet and dramatist, whose *Siege of Rhodes* (1656), a blend of opera and the heroic play, paved the way for English opera, and for the heroic plays of Dryden's time. Some of his lyrics are still read. He succeeded Ben Jonson as poet-laureate.

35. bound . . . Holy Orders: as he had a dispensation from James I. he need not have taken orders; he did so "on his own initiative . . . doubtless with a view to preferment in the church" (D.N.B.).

36. made Deacon . . . speed: this was in 1627.

89. 6. Charles the Fifth: Charles V. (1500-58), Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, and King of Spain, whose huge dominions made him the most important monarch of his time. He spent the last three years of his life in retirement, when his health

was breaking and his policies were failing, and his " holy retreat to a cloistered life " (in a house attached to a monastery at Yuste in Spain) is rather a picturesque legend than the exact truth. See pp. 49, 50.

16. that makes . . . praise Him: adapted from Psalms lxv. 8 in the Prayer Book version.

18. magnify: " glorify."

35. pleasure of angling: see Introduction, p. xxiv. In about 1638 Wotton wrote a poem entitled "On a bank as I sat a-fishing," which Walton introduced into *The Complete Angler*.

90. 14. Rhetoric: the art of writing and speaking; one of the Liberal Arts (see note 58, 25).

27. intended work of Education: see Introduction, p. xxiii.

91. 26. Arminius: Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), a Dutch theologian, founder of Arminianism, which held that God forgave all who repented and believed in Christ, whereas Calvinism, with its doctrine of predestination, held that only the elect were able to repent.

28. Leyden: seat of a famous university.

92. 2. Master Perkins: William Perkins (1558-1602), theological writer and teacher at Cambridge. His position was Puritan, and his writings were very popular.

28. St. Jude: Walton refers to Jude, 9-10.

34. carriage: i.e. conduct.

93. 5. hunt counter: i.e. follow the wrong scent, by following it backwards (counter) instead of forwards.

15. Secretary of State: in 1625 to James I.

94. 21. characters: the word *characters*, meaning " distinctive marks," is used figuratively; cp. "the characters of hell to trace," Gray's *Bard*, line 52.

31. distun'd: " put out of tune."

35. fluid globe: i.e. revolving earth.

hour-glass: a contrivance, similar to an egg-timer, for measuring time by the flow of sand.

95. 2. Bedel: see 75. 21 and note.

7. Joseph Hall: Hall (1574-1656), bishop of Exeter 1627-41, and of Norwich from 1641 to 1647, when he was expelled by the Puritans. In the history of literature he survives by his verse satires *Virgidemiarum* (1597-8), and his prose *Characters of Virtues and Vices* (1608), the earliest of the English books of character-essays. He also wrote many religious works.

9. James Wadsworth: Wadsworth (1572?-1623), after his conversion to the Church of Rome, became an official of the Inquisition, and English tutor to the Infanta Maria.

12. benefited in one diocese: their livings were all in Suffolk.

25. his printed Decades: Hall's popular collection of *Six Decades of Epistles*.

96. 4. your College at Dublin: Trinity College, Dublin, founded in 1591 under a charter from the Queen.

27. Padre Paulo: see 79. 18 and note.

35. office: "task."

97. 8. Governor: i.e. provost.

13. Ember-weeks: see note to 32. 10.

20. as St. Paul, etc.: the reference is to 1 Timothy iii. 7.

28. the late horrid rebellion: i.e. in 1641, when the Irish troops were disbanded after Strafford's recall.

98. 7. Bargrave: Isaac Bargrave (1586-1643), Dean of Canterbury from 1625.

22. Hanse Towns: members of the Hanseatic League, a German Commercial Union.

26. Dr. Duppa: Brian Duppa (1588-1662), appointed Bishop of Salisbury in 1641, and of Winchester in 1660.

32. some . . . few Kings: a few pages on William I. and Henry VI. are alone extant, although he lived some nine years after the grant of £500.

34. to be more large in: i.e. to deal with in more detail.

99. 20. concessionable: "conscientious."

100. 14. a marble stone: "the tombstone is now one of the stones leading into the choir." (D.N.B.).

18. the son of Sirach: Jesus, the son of Sirach, author of the Apocryphal Book *Ecclesiasticus*.

101. 14. censure: "judgment."

33. sad effects . . . Germany: an allusion to the Thirty Years' War, which was largely a struggle between Protestant and Catholic.

102. 24. at large: i.e. drawn on a large scale.

28. table: i.e. picture, so called from the flat surface on which it was painted.

Venetian College: i.e. the room where met the College, the administrative body in the Venetian constitution.

35. Titiano: the famous painter Titian (c. 1477-1576).

103. 4. Throgmorton: Sir Nicholas Throgmorton (1515-71); Elizabeth employed him on missions affecting Mary Queen of Scots.

8. Paper-office: "the older name for the State Paper office" (N.E.D.).

9. Mr. Secretary Windebank: Sir Francis Windebank (1582-1646); see 104. 24.

15. Dioscorides: *i.e.* the book on medicinal herbs by Dioscorides, a Greek physician of the first century. The Physician in Chaucer's *Prologue* "wel knew . . . Doyscorides."

16. the best . . . of Tuscany: Tuscan was the literary language of Italy, having been written by Dante and Petrarch.

17. whence . . . descended: Charles I.'s queen, Henrietta Maria, was the youngest daughter of Henry IV. of France, and Marie de Medicis; it was through the latter she was descended from the reigning house of Tuscany.

20. most hopeful Prince: Charles, Prince of Wales (*b.* 1630), later Charles II.

24. Lord's Grace of Canterbury: William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury from 1633.

31, 32. Heraclitus . . . world: the Greek philosopher Heraclitus (c. 540-475 B.C.) was called the "weeping philosopher" in contrast to Democritus (*b.*? 460 B.C.), the "laughing philosopher."

104. 13. loadstone: *i.e.* magnet; *load* is related to the verb "to lead."

amber . . . united: possibly a blending of grey and yellow amber, *i.e.* ambergris and amber.

15. chrystal sexangular: *i.e.* a hexagonal piece of transparent mineral, *e.g.* quartz.

26. the four Seasons . . . Bassano: a painting by the Venetian painter Jacopo da Ponte Bassano (1510-92).

27. in little form: *i.e.* it was a small picture.

32. Viol de Gamba: a viol (a stringed musical instrument) held between the legs of the player; the name is adapted from the Italian meaning "leg-viol."

105. 5. same kind: *i.e.* same respect (of obtaining money due to Wotton).

25. consonable: "just, due."

32, 33. connaturalness . . . air: *i.e.* the air of his native place agreed with him; *genial* is from *genius* in the sense "natural disposition."

106. 20. Sufficient, etc.: Matthew vi. 34.

22. questionless: "undoubtedly."

28. Mr. John Hales: Hales (1584-1656), Fellow of Eton from 1613 to 1649, devoted his life to scholarship, and had a reputation for great learning. Anthony Wood called him "a walking library."

31. discursive: *i.e.* one that liked talk.

107. 53. sensible: "conscious."

108. 8 a quotidian fever: one recurring every day

33 when he spoke, etc a poetic exaggeration of the attention paid to Wotton

31 Mr. Abram Cowley: Abraham Cowley (1618-67), poet, essayist, and one of the first Fellows of the Royal Society. The easy personal talk of his essays survives best, but some of his lyrics live too. His long poem *Davideis* was never readable. Cowley's best elegies are those on William Harvey, and the poet Crashaw.

109 i his fourth embassy Wotton had been thrice ambassador to Venice

9 Babel. see Genesis xi. 9

17 date + e duration

20 the brave Pellean youth: Alexander the Great (355-323 B.C.), often called *Pellasus iuvens* because he was born at Pella in Macedonia. He is said to have wept because he had no more worlds to conquer.

